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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2172



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## CHIEF OF STAFF URGES CONSTANT READINESS

AU091501 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Kico Mustaqi, deputy minister of people's defense and chief of the Army General Staff: "The Strengthening of Readiness--a Constant Task of the People-in-Arms"]

[Text] In our socialist country the tasks set out by the party in the field of defense, to strengthen the combat readiness of all the soldier people, are a reflection of the will, desire, and vital interests of the people themselves. The mastering of our Military Art on the People's Struggle worked out by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha has therefore become a part of the daily activity of all working people, since the country's defense is a task above all tasks, a great cause of all the people.

The defense of the victories achieved and the furtherance of our socialist revolution requires the constant strengthening of combat readiness in the People's Army, its structure, and all the soldier people. This assumes particular importance in the current situation in the world, a situation pregnant with threats and serious dangers to the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples. The imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and all reaction, have not relinquished their diabolical plans against Socialist Albania. This hostility has been made worse by the fact that we are the only socialist country in the world, one from which there rises powerfully the Marxist-Leninist truth of our party, which rips off the mask of the bourgeois and revisionist forces of darkness.

Confronted with this situation the party organs and organizations in the field and in the army have drawn important conclusions and tasks pertaining to the education, mobilization, and training of the soldier people and are placing all their mental and physical abilities in the service of further strengthening combat readiness. The commands and staffs, being the instruments of the party, are tackling party work better and are paying particular attention to the scientific preparation, organization and management of their entire activity, to giving skilled assistance, to monitoring the implementation of tasks, and to account-rendering in order that everyone should carry out the tasks entrusted him at the appropriate

time, in a skilled manner, competently, in a cultured manner, and with a high degree of military and scientific discipline. The commands and staff have increased their efficiency in leading their units in all kinds of situations, no matter how difficult.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Eighth AWP Congress that "the party demands that in the future, too, the People's Army and all its structures, being the main force for the country's defense, should be constantly strengthened, modernized, and revolutionized..." To this end, greater efforts have been made by the party organs and organizations, communists, and all personnel in their daily struggle to strengthen combat readiness and to achieve a high degree of political and combat training of all the soldier people. In military units, free military schools, and in work and production centers, implementing the party's instruction that like all other problems, those pertaining to defense, too, cannot be correctly and successfully resolved without serious studies in order to place training, organization, and cooperation in the field on a more scientific basis. Consequently, very valuable lessons and tasks have been drawn. Clearer concepts have thus been created about the free military schools--which the conspiratorial enemies headed by the multi-agent M. Shahu wanted to sabotage like everything else in the army and elsewhere--concerning small-scale training, combat readiness, and a proper evaluation of all its elements in the appropriate degree and importance. Experience shows that it is impossible to have a high degree of combat readiness without sound education and training on sound scientific foundations and without preparing all defense structures. This is achieved by training and by raising the cadres in all structures up to the level required by the times, making them bearers and disseminators of the most advanced thinking to make certain that all commands and staffs, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations, are capable of directing units like compact organisms and of leading them to victory in every combat situation. This is why the party stresses the need to carry out small-scale training in the free military schools with a high degree of scientific knowledge, because training and readiness are indivisible, the former being directly in the latter's service.

Another important demand in strengthening readiness is that training should be carried out in a complex manner and that it should be well studied and thought out in advance, with intelligent tactical ideas in accordance with the situation and its rapid change, by day and by night, in varied terrain, and at varied times. This means that, knowing every inch of the terrain, we must have as clear an image of the battlefield as possible and act boldly and according to conditions. Among other things, this requires also greater care in playing the enemy during training and so forth.

As is known, the strategy of our potential enemies lies in a sudden attack. In these conditions the time element is of particular importance. Time is clearly won by the side that is better trained, by the side that is capable of acting more rapidly, and better and by the side that is better trained physically. The following demand is therefore constantly stressed: All action in training and in combat must be carried out rapidly and precisely. This makes even more essential the need to work on the basis of

well studied objectives and norms, their precise evaluation, and the timely adoption of ideopolitical, organizational, and directional measures by commands and cadres to constantly raise these objectives and norms aiming at the more advanced results. In addition, this requires that the cadres of the commands, staffs, and apparatuses should go more frequently to the free military schools and the training fields. "...The cadres and staffs"--Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us--"should remain as far removed from offices as possible and, conversely, they should remain as close as possible to the cadres and staffs of the grassroots units, which constitute the backbone of our army."

A high level of training, its constant revolutionization, and the constant strengthening of combat readiness require that we should attach proper importance to the perfect mastery of weapons and equipment in order to be able to make the most efficient use of them.

The constant elevation of revolutionary vigilance is one of the major demands in strengthening combat readiness. The experience gained in this field must be generalized and furthered, combating all underestimating and all alien manifestations. In every structure and combat post, wherever they may be working and living, our people must be made well aware, through a persuasive and well presented effort, of the substance of the party's slogan: "Work and Vigilance."

The personnel of our People's Army, its structures and all the people, well armed ideologically and well trained militarily, with steel-like unity around the party and the general commander of the armed forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha, will go to the 40th anniversary of the army with great achievements and successes and are fully capable and ready to burn in the fire of the people's struggle any enemy who would dare violate the borders of our socialist country, no matter how slightly.

CSO: 2100/54

## HOXHA ATTENDS ARMY DAY CEREMONY; ALIA SPEAKS

AU102006 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 10 July broadcasts a 17-minute report on the presentation of various orders to military cadres and a ceremonial parade organized at the "Enver Hoxha" United Higher Officers School in Tirana this morning on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army. The reporter describes the formations of soldiers from the country's various military schools which will take part in the parade, organized in the school's square. He then states that Enver Hoxha arrives to take part in the ceremony. "Also taking part in the ceremony are Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Comrade Adil Carcani, Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrades Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Llambi Gegprifti, Qirjako Mihali; AWP Central Committee Secretary Vangjel Cerava, and other comrades." The reporter states that veterans of the national liberation war are also present.

Prokop Murra, Politburo candidate member and minister of people's defense, welcomes Enver Hoxha. Jace Lula, deputy minister of people's defense, presents the soldiers to Enver Hoxha. The reporter then describes the way in which Hoxha stops in front of the formations of soldiers, salutes, and greets them. The state and party leaders then step onto the dais; the reporter describes the ceremonial parade which marches past the dais.

After this the presentation of various orders to military cadres begins. The reporter states that Simon Ballabani, deputy minister of people's defense, opens the ceremony. A 12-minute recording of Ramiz Alia's speech on this occasion is given. He then presents decorations from the Presidium of the People's Assembly. Hekuran Isai, Politburo member and minister of internal affairs, is awarded the Order of the Flag. Prokop Murra, Politburo candidate member and minister of people's defense, is decorated with the Order of Skenderbeg First Class. Kico Mustaqi, chief of the general army staff and deputy minister of people's defense, receives the Order of Skenderbeg Second Class.

The reporter states that a number of other military cadres are decorated, and the ceremony ends. He then describes Enver Hoxha's meeting with military students and veterans and is seen off with enthusiastic applause and love by the participants of the ceremony.



## HOXHA ATTENDS STADIUM MEETING ON ARMY DAY

AU091338 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 8 July 1983 broadcasts an 18-minute report of a physical culture display held in the framework of numerous activities taking place on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Albanian People's Army on 10 July. The reporter describes the scene at the Qemal Stafa stadium in Tirana, which he describes as being completely filled. The physical culture display, the reporter says, will be performed by 8,000 boys and girls from Tirana primary and secondary schools and from various military schools throughout the country.

With the sound of ovations in the background, the reporter then announces the arrival of Enver Hoxha, "the beloved leader of our party and people and supreme commander of the armed forces." The national anthem is played and the reporter says that the national flag is hoisted. A group of young servicemen--the reporter continues--approach the main dais and one of them reads out the final message addressed to Enver Hoxha from the country's youth, the army and the "people-in-arms" [populli ushtar], which was relayed in previous weeks to army units throughout the country. Read out in a snappy, military-like voice the message recalls the day, 40 years ago, when the General Staff of the Antifascist National Liberation Army was formed, and assures Enver Hoxha of "our ardent affection, boundless loyalty to the people and the country, and profound gratitude to the party." The message goes on to stress that "our army will always remain a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat" and that "no enemy, external or internal, will ever take us by surprise." Further on the message pledges the army's loyalty to the party and Enver Hoxha, its supreme commander, and that "it will be always vigilant and ready to defeat every enemy or coalition of enemies who would dare violate our dear country, no matter how slightly." The end of the message, which takes less than 2 minutes to read out, is greeted with powerful "hurrahs" from the crowd. The reporter then says that Enver Hoxha takes the message and embraces the youths.

The physical culture display then begins with a parade by phalanges made up of representatives of various sectors of socialist construction and defense, veterans of the national liberation war, servicemen, sportsmen, and sportswomen. Hoxha is said to greet them all with clenched fist. The phalanges leave the center of the stadium and their place is taken by

students of the "Skanderbeg" military school performing various exercises, who are then followed by pupils and students from other military schools throughout the country and naval cadets. Finally, the reporter says, they all form a picture of a fortress surrounded by eight bunches of flowers symbolizing the eight AWP congresses held to date. The display ends amid shouts of "Party-Enver--We Are Ever Ready," and the reporter says that Hoxha and his entourage are leaving the stadium.

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## SIGNIFICANCE OF MACEDONIAN UPRISING STRESSED

AU071704 Sofia BTA in English 1505 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, July 7 (BTA)--"The St. Elijah's Day and Transfiguration Uprising in Macedonia and Edirne Thrace in 1903 is a Bulgarian uprising, a continuation of the Bulgarian national revolution" stresses Academician Khristo Khristov in an article published today in the LITERATUREN FRONT weekly.

He stresses that not home sources alone, but a number of documents in other countries, too, mention the uprising as a Bulgarian. At the same time Academician Khristov notes that next to the Bulgarians representatives of other nations, then kept in oppression by the Ottoman enslaver, have taken part in the uprising.

The article of the prominent Bulgarian historian is part of his final statement made at a scientific session in June in Blagoevgrad to mark the 80th anniversary of the outbreak of the uprising. The session was attended by historians from Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Japan, India, Italy and Great Britain.

As a particularly important question of the history of St. Elijah's and Transfiguration Uprising Academician Khristov mentioned the question for the continuity in the development of the Bulgarian national-liberation movement before and after 1878 (the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman bondage). He stresses that historians have revealed the existence of two peaks in the Bulgarian national revolution: First being the April uprising of 1876 and the second--the uprisings (following almost one after another) on St. Elijah's Day and on Transfiguration of 1903.

Academician Khristov points to the mass refugee movement and the forcible internment of the Bulgarians from Macedonia and Edirne into the liberated Bulgarian state and the impact of the uprising on international relations as the other major questions related to the uprising.

In the opinion of Academician Khristov the reports read at the session in Blagoevgrad have elucidated the question about the slogan for autonomy of Macedonia and Edirne Thrace. "The slogan for autonomy was a tactical one"

writes Academician Khristov, "having much to do with the specific conditions under which the uprisings on St. Elijah's Day and on Transfiguration were prepared, broke out and developed. The autonomy seeks to preserve the spiritual unity of the Bulgarian nation because of the impossibility to annex these Bulgarian lands to the free Bulgarian state at the time."

According to Academician Khristov the aim of the autonomy slogan then raised, has been "to preserve the spiritual unity of the Bulgarian nation, of the Bulgarians who remained under the Ottoman authority, with those who were in the free Bulgarian state."

Academician Khristov dwells in detail on the question of the continuity in the Bulgarian national-liberation movement and in the workers' revolutionary movement. He stresses that the ideas of Vasil Levski (1837-1873) for a democratic republic, for a free Bulgarian state, in which all nationalities--both Bulgarians and Turks--to live under the same laws, to be entitled to the same rights, were being adopted, further developed and applied by the founder of the internal Macedonian-Edirne revolutionary organization in the preparation of St. Elijah's Day--Transfiguration Uprising, and under the newly-created conditions--by the members of the class-revolutionary movement.

In his article the Bulgarian historian treats also the question of the tasks and responsibilities of the historian scholars. Stressing that the whole Balkan Peninsula should be turned into a land of peace, Academician Khristov pays attention to the circumstance that historians are studying the past, but it has not always been subordinated to the principle of fraternity and mutual assistance.

"History is a string of controversial events" he writes. "Bulgarians have helped the Greeks in their national revolution, before that they had participated in the Serbian uprising, in important events of the history of the Romanian people. Romania, on the other hand, has played a major role in Bulgarian history. But along with that there are points of contradiction, of conflicts, of differences and struggles."

Touching on the question of how historians should act in order to assert the idea of fraternity and peace between peoples in cases of conflict situations in the development of the historical process, Academician Khristov notes: "There are two ways: The first is to study and popularize only those facts, events and processes which show and reveal the democratic character of the historical process, the manifestation of fraternal relations between peoples. The other path is for the truth, the assessment of conflict relations to be sought always with eyes turned to the future, not to the past."

The Bulgarian historian stresses that there are people who exploit the past for their own purposes by distorting and falsifying it. He stresses that the Bulgarian science is insufficiently active in exposing and in proving the scientific ungroundedness and the political harm of such

distortions. "We must show to both the Bulgarian and the world public that this path is dangerous. The historian must stick to the truth, to interpret it correctly, to explain, and to assess, not to falsify it. Otherwise he won't be a true researcher, he won't be standing on the right positions," writes Academician Khristo Khristov.

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DEVELOPMENT OF WORKER MILITIA UNITS REVIEWED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 26 No 5, May 83 pp 230-234

[Article by Lt Col Guenter Lippert: "The Worker Militia of the Working Class; SED Party Army or GDR Territorial Army Free of Cost?"]

[Text] In recent months, the "Workers Militia Groups of the Working Class" several times supplied headlines for the West German newspapers. Some described them as the secret "Fifth Column" of the GDR Armed Forces which supposedly already reconnoitered operational sectors in the rear of the NATO defenses; others believe them to be the Territorial Army of the GDR which should be included in the MBFR negotiations; and finally, there were a few that considered them to be merely a paramilitary association for the "old codgers" who are supposed to be disciplined by means of military off-duty activities and who are to be prevented from entertaining any rebellious ideas. The article below describes the origin, organization, and significance of the Worker Militia Groups which this year celebrate their 30th anniversary. The Editors.

Origin and Development

On instructions from the SED, the official party of the GDR, armed factory guard units consisting of party members were established in a series of so-called VEB in the autumn of 1952. They were supposed to guard the enterprises against "counterrevolutionaries" and presumed Western "agents, saboteurs, and provocators." At the same time they were to represent the materialization of the old Marxist concept of the "armed working class" that was supposed to make traditional armies superfluous. The idea was to tie in with the tradition of the insurrectionist "proletarian centuries" during the first few years of the Weimar Republic as well as the tradition of the "Red Centuries" and the "Red Combat Veterans League" during the last few years of the Weimar Republic.

The popular uprising of 17 June 1953 provided the impetus for pushing the establishment of these paramilitary forces, which initially were called SED factory militia groups, on a broad basis. The resolution adopted at that time

did not become known until 20 years later when the date of 29 September 1953 was celebrated as the birthday of the Worker Militia Groups with a big "fighting rally" in East Berlin and in the GDR's bezirk capitals.

Originally, the factory militia groups were constituted only with registered SED members. Since there were not enough of them, seemingly reliable non-members were also admitted already starting in 1954. After ideological indoctrination and testing, they were able to become party members.

The worker militia units appeared for the first time in public in 1954; wearing blue mechanic's overalls with a red armband on the upper arm but at that time without any weapons, they paraded, accompanied by People's Police Officers, during May Day Parades in East Berlin and numerous cities throughout the GDR.

During its 23rd conference, the SED Central Committee in April 1955 observed that the unit, now called "Worker Militia Groups of the Working Class" was to be developed into an "effective instrument of home defense and for the protection of people's property."

The guidelines for the organization and development of the Worker Militia Groups, issued in this connection by the SED Politburo, provided the following:

The Worker Militia Groups were to be directly under the party. The National Security Commission of the Central Committee Politburo was the highest authority.

Military training for the Worker Militia Groups was given by instructors from the German People's Police. All instructors had to be SED members.

The SED kreis directorates were responsible for the local leadership of the Worker Militia Groups.

Men between the ages of 25 and 60 were to serve in the Worker Militia Groups. Young persons up to the age of 25 would get their premilitary training in the GST (Society for Sports and Technology). Women were to be employed in the Worker Militia Groups as medics and radio operators.

All Worker Militia Group commanders (platoon leaders, century leaders and battalion commanders) had to be approved by the SED kreis directorates.

The local SED enterprise party organization secretary is responsible for the organization of the political work in the Worker Militia Groups.

A uniform Worker Militia Group oath was confirmed and published in the middle of 1956 by the SED Central Committee Politburo which however was administered in public for the first time only in October 1959 on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the GDR's founding. Worker Militia Group members--to be addressed as "Comrade Fighter"--had to swear: "I am prepared, as a fighter of the working class, to carry out the party's instructions, at all times to protect the German Democratic Republic, its social achievements, with weapon in hand, and to risk my life for it."



The ZSfK (Central School for Worker Militia Groups) was founded in Schmerwitz, Potsdam Bezirk, in May 1957 and, starting in October 1957, the Worker Militia Groups also had their own monthly magazine, DER KAEMPFER, published by the SED Central Committee. In September 1961, a special "Medal of Merit for the Worker Militia Groups of the Working Class" was created in combination with a bonus of 300.00 DM-East as an external incentive. The "Comrade Fighters" however were able to hope for getting more cash only upon reaching old age. Since the autumn of 1974, there has been a "Worker Militia Group retirement benefit" in the amount of 100.00 DM-East per month which is paid out to long-service Worker Militia Group members or those retired prematurely for health reasons after reaching the age of 65. Widows and orphans draw reduced benefits.

In the meantime, starting in 1956, the armed forces, which until then had been camouflaged as KVP (Garrisoned People's Police), were converted into the "National People's Army" and a separate "National Defense Ministry" released the "Ministry of Interior," which until then was responsible for the KVP, for new assignments. Initially, it took the "German Border Police"<sup>1</sup> the "German Alert Police" and the "Transportation Police" over from the "Ministry of State Security." Starting in January 1958, a central Worker Militia Group command was established in the Interior Ministry which is responsible for worker militia military training matters. Political indoctrination and operational command however continued to be retained by the SED Central Committee and the subordinate SED bezirk and kreis directorates. KGM, mot. (Motorized Worker Militia Group Battalions)--which, as so-called "Worker Militia Group Battalions of the Bezirk Reserve" constitute the mobile strike forces of the SED bezirk and kreis directorates--were set up in the Worker Militia Groups, in addition to the non-mobile platoons and centuries that were intended only for facility protection; they wore stone-grey uniforms with belt, service cap or steel helmet and boots on duty. The mission of the Worker Militia Groups was once again outlined at the Fifth SED Party Congress in July 1958. Together with the internal security agencies, they were supposed to defend the "achievements" of the GDR against counter-revolutionary acts.

The Worker Militia Groups passed their baptism of fire in August of 1961. About 8,000 "fighters" together with NVA [National People's Army] units, the Border Police, the Alert Police and the Soviet Army, were assigned to screen the construction of the Berlin Wall.

After the GDR was sealed off, pressure on the workers was stepped up and the Worker Militia Groups were increased in terms of their numerical strength. In 1966, the Worker Militia Groups included about 340,000 men. Their nucleus was formed by the motorized "Worker Militia Group Battalions of the Bezirk Reserve" whose number at that time was estimated at 100.

After the construction of the Berlin Wall and after the completion of the build-up of the "National People's Army," the SED had much trouble in selling the idea of these Worker Militia Group formations to the population as units intended for use against counterrevolutionary acts especially since that population--if we are to believe the "election" results and the constantly published loyalty declarations--so totally backs the government and the "achievements." This is why



the role of the Worker Militia Groups in beating off foreign foes was once again stressed. The SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND had the following to say on that score in 1979:

Modern national defense calls for strong territorial units; that includes the Worker Militia Groups; they are a firm component of national defense.

The Worker Militia Groups are responsible for the protection and defense of their particular enterprises. They accomplish this mission independently in cooperation with units of the German People's Police and, if necessary, the NVA.

The Worker Militia Groups are the armed agency of the working class in the enterprises, in the agricultural producer cooperatives, in government agencies and in institutions. Since they are military units, they are organized in the form of squads, platoons, centuries, and battalions. They are motorized and they have modern weapons and equipment.

These statements were confirmed during the "1970 Arms Comradeship" WP [Warsaw Pact] autumn maneuvers in which at least one compact motorized Worker Militia Group battalion participated. The East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG wrote the following on that score: "On the very first day of the maneuvers, they showed what they were worth as they smashed an airborne unit, dropped by the enemy in the rear area of the defense sector, together with the alert units of the German People's police."

#### The Worker Militia Groups Today

##### Numerical Strength, Organization, and Equipment

The present-day strength of the "Worker Militia Groups of the Working Class" is estimated at about 400,000 men. Their many different forms of organization depend on local conditions and on the particular mission. Large enterprises as a rule organize their own, mostly motorized battalions (KGB, mot) such as, for example, the "Arthur Ladwig KGB (mot) of the VEB IFA [Industrial Association for Motor Vehicle Construction] vehicle plant in Ludwigsfelde near Berlin or the KGB (mot) "Max Lademann" of the Mansfeld mining and smelter combine. Other Worker Militia Battalions consist of personnel from several locally adjacent enterprises, while a series of enterprises are also setting up independent motorized Worker Military Group centuries (KGH, mot), such as, for example, the "Erich Gentsch" KGH (mot) of the Altenburg VEB sewing machine factory. In addition to these mobile, locally employable formations and units, which, with about 170 KGB (mot) and an estimated around 50 KGH (mot) account for one-third to one-half of the total numerical strength of the Worker Militia Groups, the rest consist of non-motorized battalions which can be employed only in a stationary setting as well as independent centuries and platoons. Such independent units and elements are established by remote agricultural producer cooperatives or also by smaller administrative agencies, such as, for example, the "Kurt Kreuz" Worker Militia unit of the Bautzen Kreis Council.

The KGB (mot) are organized in a manner similar to the 21 "alert detachments" of the People's Police which correspond to a reinforced battalion<sup>2</sup>. In addition to the battalion CO, the immediate staff includes the chief of staff, (S-3 officer), the deputy for political affairs, the deputy for technical matters (technical officer), the deputy for supply (S-4 officer), and the battalion surgeon. The KGB(mot) usually consists of the following component units:

A HQ century with reconnaissance, communications, Engineer, and supply platoons, as well as traffic control and medical sections;

Two light centuries [companies] equipped only with small arms, and

One heavy century which includes the mortar platoon, a TD platoon, and AA platoon, and an HMG platoon.

Apart from small arms, such as the AK (Kalashnikov assault rifle) and the RPG-7 bazooka, the Worker Militia Groups are almost exclusively provided with weapons and equipment that was made available when the NVA was issued more modern equipment. This includes the following, among others:

The BTR-152 APC,

The BTR-40 ARV,

The 76-mm M-1942 light AT gun,

The RG [recoilless rifle] 82-mm and RG 107-mm light artillery pieces,

The S-60 57-mm AA gun,

The ZU-23-2 23 mm AA gun,

The ZPU-2 14.5-mm AA MG,

The M-1943 82-mm mortar and even

The DShK-M 12.7-mm HMG on single-axle mount.

But it is to be expected that, as part of the continuing modernization of the equipment of the NVA ground forces, such as, perhaps, through the replacement of the BTR-60 PB APC with the BTR-70 (see No 1,1983, p 19), the Worker Militia Groups will also benefit, to the extent that the weapons and equipment released will not be mothballed for the reserve units of the NVA, or issued to the "Border Forces of the GDR," or will not be sold to Third World countries.

The weapons, vehicles, and equipment of the Worker Militia formations and units are stored in the facilities of the "sponsor enterprises" which were provided mostly with the means of "volunteer development shift work." The People's Police keep the ammunition under lock and key.

## Training and Supplies

The minister of the interior and commander of the German People's Police, Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, or his main division chief for Worker Militia Groups, MGen of the VP [People's Police] Wolfgang Krapp, are still responsible for Worker Militia Group training. The highest-level training facility is the "Central School for Worker Militia Groups" whose commandant at this time is VP Col Dr rer. mil. Christian Raschinsky and all of whose instructors are VP officers.

Although, on the local level, there are partnership relationships with the NVA, with the Border Forces, with the Soviet Army, and with the GST, "on-the-spot" training is guided by the BDVP (Bezirk directorates of the People's Police) and the VPKA (People's Police Kreis offices). These VP duty stations also advise the local commanders, the SED bezirk and kreis directorates, and they prepare proposals for them regarding exercises and tests. The VP duty stations are also responsible for supplying the Worker Militia Groups to the extent that these supply functions can no longer be taken care of by their own supply units.

Above all the battalion commanders of the Worker Militia Groups and their chiefs of staff and deputies are released from work at the enterprises and are detailed to training courses at the Central School for Worker Militia Groups. These courses mostly last 3 months and are to be repeated every 4-5 years by those individuals. There are separate schools on the bezirk level for major and minor unit leaders, such as, for example, the "Ernst Schneller" Worker Militia Group School in Gera, Thuringia. Besides, the VP bezirk schools are open to the "cadres," that is to say, to the command personnel of the Worker Militia Groups. While the "cadres" must be released by the enterprises so that they may attend these training courses, the simple "fighters" must put in their annual 132 hours of training--which is broken down to 33 training weeks--mostly during off-duty weekends. In addition to pure training time, there are annual final exercises and examinations, parades, "fighting rallies," and various conferences which partly are held during spare time and partly during working hours--at the expense of the other workers in the plant.

In addition to mandatory political indoctrination, training includes the following:

Infantry combat training,

AT defense training,

AA defense training,

Engineer training,

NBC defense training,

Ranger training, and

Medical [first-aid] training.

Here are some of the exercise topics, among others:

Security and reconnaissance,

March movements and march movement security,

Negotiating and clearing barriers,

Attack and defense.

The presumed enemy here as a rule consists of commando units (subversives), and NATO units which were dropped from the air or which have broken through.

Regarding the training level of the Worker Militia Groups it must be kept in mind that, on the basis of the draft which was introduced in the GDR in 1962, most of the Worker Militia Group members today are NVA or Border Force reservists, so that training essentially represents the maintenance and further development of already acquired military skills and knowledge. By the same token, many--although not most--among the present-day leaders and commanders of the Worker Militia Groups are former NVA officers and NOC's with corresponding training and experience. On the other hand it would seem that the plans of the Worker Militia Groups do not include those NVA reservists who, in case of mobilization, would be recalled by the NVA to bring their active units up to strength and to organize mobilization units.

#### Operations Command

The SED Central Committee still decides on the employment of the Worker Militia Groups today. The special representative of party boss Erich Honecker in this connection is the head of the division for security matters, Col Gen Herbert Scheibe who frequently comments on basic issues of their employment and their ideological guidance in the magazine DER KÄMPFER. Regarding technical military advice, the Central Committee, if necessary, can fall back on the Worker Militia Group main division in the Interior Ministry.

In the 14 bezirks of the GDR and East Berlin, the SED bezirk directorates--advised or reinforced by the VP bezirk directorates--are available as constantly in-being operations staffs. Along these lines, the SED kreis directorates, together with the VP kreis officers, constitute the permanently, in-being lowest command echelon.

#### Sister Organizations

The "Worker Militia Groups of the Working Class" are not some oddity encountered only in the GDR. Similar organizations, referred to as people's or worker militia units, exist in all non-Soviet WP countries, although with differing numerical strength and armament.



Among these, the Czechoslovak "People's Militia" (Lidove Milice) played an important role already during the February 1948 communist coup. To be sure, after Soviet intervention in 1968 it lost most of its members but in the meantime again has reached a strength of about 120,000 men. Like the Worker Militia Groups, the People's Militia also has motorized battalions with heavy infantry weapons and a few armored vehicles as well as platoons and companies for fixed employment (see no 7,1978, p 639).

The Hungarian "Worker Militia" (Munkasereg) was organized only after the October 1956 popular uprising in the course of which the army and police proved unreliable in the regime's view. It numbers about 60,000 men. Its battalions, likewise equipped with light and heavy infantry weapons, are under the "Central National Command of the Worker Militia," whose chief is appointed by the government upon nomination by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party.

The numerically strongest although only lightly-armed people's militia today consists of the "Patriotic Guards" in Romania who, in recent years, were boosted to a strength of 900,000 men. This boost of course was not due to any threat from the West but rather Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and the Brezhnev doctrine.

Little is known in the West about the 150,000-man "Territorial People's Militia," of pro-Soviet Bulgaria and there is no way of judging what has happened to what used to be Poland's 350,000-man "Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia" (ORMO)<sup>3</sup> after the uprising by "Solidarity" and the introduction of martial law.

On the whole, however, it seems certain that the GDR proved to be what might be called "teacher's pet" among the WP countries with its "Worker Militia Groups of the Working Class" also in the militia sector.

#### Evaluation

The question as to the actual mission and significance of the Worker Militia Groups cannot be answered in a clear and simple manner. If we look at the latest statements coming out of the GDR, then these Worker Militia Groups--by way of supplementation of and in cooperation with the "alert units" or the VP--constitute the territorial defense of the GDR. As national defense component they accordingly--just like the Territorial Army of the West German Federal Armed Forces--must primarily provide area and facility protection in rear areas, smash enemy units that have broken through, and secure the operational freedom of their own forces. They are completely suited for that on the basis of their training, numerical strength, and organization. That also applies to their mobility and armament, especially since there are no airborne forces whatsoever in the West which correspond to the Soviet airborne forces in terms of their mechanization.

There is one thing which is particularly helpful to the GDR leadership and that is that these capabilities were developed with a minimum in terms of money:

Enough full-time leadership personnel is available in the form of police officers with military training.

Constantly in-being operations staffs exist in the form of the SED bezirk and kreis as well as the VP bezirk directorates and kreis offices.

Part-time command personnel of the Worker Militia Groups mostly received their training already in the armed forces. Advanced training is given at the expense of the personnel forces in the enterprises who must do extra work to make up time lost in this fashion.

The simple, ordinary "fighters" in the stone-gray garb of honor do not cause any expenses whatsoever for the government, apart from the "enterprise costs," the Worker Militia Group retirements benefits and motivation through medals and awards.

Equipment is obtained practically free of charge as a result of the modernization of the NVA ground forces.

Facilities for the storage and maintenance of equipment are mostly provided by the "sponsor enterprises."

Moreover, the enterprise-related structure of this territorial army offers the advantage that major and minor unit members are in constant contact with each other also when they are not training and that these units are in-being during their daily working hours.

In spite of this high in-being strength of the Worker Militia Groups, when compared to the equipment-holding units of the Territorial Army of the West German Armed Forces, the West, in the course of the MBFR negotiations, did not insist that they be entirely or partly included in the discussions on numbers. The West for the time being does not feel that the Worker Militia Groups, with their purely territorial defense mission, constitute any threat to it because it neither intends to mount an attack, nor would be capable of doing so by virtue of the organization structure and strength of its alliance.

This is also known to the rulers of the GDR and those in the other communist countries--last but not least through their intelligence services. But they are very much interested in making the fiction of "aggressive Western imperialism" credible in order to justify the militarization of society which they are pushing.

Looking at it from the military angle, we thus come to the question as to the missions for which the Worker Militia groups and the comparable "Worker Militia Units" might be employed in case of an attack by the WP countries against the West. Here we can first of all rule out as unrealistic the employment of these forces for subversive assignments in the rear areas of our NATO defenses. The WP forces have very much better and more efficiently trained units available for that, in other words, more effectively employable special units. It would then be much more obvious to use the job experiences of the reliable "fighters"



in order, in conquered areas, to resume and maintain work in vital wartime enterprises and government agencies against possible passive resistance. For that they would be much better than the soldiers of the armed forces. But there is only one trouble: Major and minor unit training, such as it is given to the Worker Militia Groups, is not necessary for that purpose.

That leaves us with this explanation: The Worker Militia Groups and their sister organizations are intended to release the WP forces from any security assignments in the home territory and in conquered territory. In view of the great significance which the WP assigns to its own subversive and long-range reconnaissance forces, this, from the military angle, looks like the most reasonable explanation for the size, equipment, and training for the "Worker Militia Forces."

From the political viewpoint it must be observed that the communist regimes established by the Soviet Union in Eastern and Central Europe during the 38 years since World War II were never threatened from the outside but always only from the inside. That applies to the GDR as much as it applies to Czechoslovakia and Hungary and it equally applies even more so to Poland. Nobody is more aware of that than the communist rulers themselves. It is thus obvious to think that the forces, officially assigned for national defense, are primarily intended to prevent a revolution from the inside. The fraudulent switch in labels is nothing new here. The "Border Forces of the GDR" and their expensive border security facilities are not directed against intruders from the outside but are intended to prevent their citizens from "escaping from the republic." This thesis, to the effect that the "Worker Militia Groups of the Working Class" in the final analysis are nothing but a party army of the SED, is supported not only by official statements during the 1950's. These other factors likewise support this argument:

The constantly emphasized authority of party directorates regarding the operational command and the confirmation of the commanders and leaders.

Authority for training and supply which is given to the People's Police, not to the NVA.

The major and minor unit training given to the Worker Militia Groups which seems completely suitable for securing and screening facilities against domestic enemies and for the purpose of engaging them by means of an attack.

The creation of a party army as a "second force" is also based on the distrust which was harbored already by the forefathers of communism against the military establishment as such. They were always very much afraid that their revolution might also end like the French Revolution, that a "Red Napoleon" might wrest power from them and restore the old regime. The events in Poland to a certain extent show that this fear is not unfounded. But at the same time they also show how problematical it is to use a draftee army against striking workers. But there is no choice because here again the party--and thus its also its party army--was in a process of dissolution.

The thesis of the "party army" is also further supported by another, initially rather odd fact. Organizations of this type exist only in the former "bourgeois" satellite states on whom communism was forced by Moscow; in the Soviet Union itself there is nothing like it. Here, the mass of the potential "counter-revolutionaries" was neutralized already during the Civil War. The rest wound up in the "GULAG Archipelago" and any budding "Red Napoleons" were wiped out by Stalin as a precaution during his "purgas."

Here is what we can conclude from the above: The "Worker Militia Groups of the Working Class" are primarily the party army of the SED, intended to fight against strikes and domestic unrest; their subordination under national defense is only intended to camouflage their real purpose and to make a threat from the West credible. In case of a military attack against the West, their numerical strength is sufficient to guarantee the operational freedom of the WP forces and to relieve the fighting forces of any security missions. Moreover, they represent an additional instrument for the organization and disciplining of the citizens: After military instruction in the schools and in the FDJ (Free German Youth), after premilitary training in the GST, and after military service in the NVA, they make sure that a considerable portion of all workers will be within the party's grip.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The "German Border Police" was placed under the National Defense Ministry in September 1961 and was initially renamed "NVA Border Forces." In January 1974, the NVA Border Forces were renamed "Border Forces of the GDR." The status of subordination remains unchanged.
2. The VP alert units have a total strength of 18,000 men. They are under the command of the VP alert units in East Berlin which is under the Interior Ministry. The alert units are quartered in barracks and are equipped with light and heavy infantry weapons as well as water guns. They were made partly mobile through APC's and trucks. At least one alert unit is stationed in each of the 14 bezirks of the GDR. In the heavily populated bezirks of Halle, Leipzig, Magdeburg and Potsdam, there is a second unit in addition. The remaining three units are stationed in Basdorf, north of the East Berlin periphery, ready for employment in East Berlin. Service in the VP alert units is considered to be military service.
3. In Poland, the police is referred to as "citizen militia" (Milicja Obywatelska). The ORMO therefore is a volunteer police reserve.

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5058

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CHRISTIANS' 'SELF-CONFIDENCE' SEEN GROWING

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 June 83 p 3

["Politics" feature article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Rostock, 13 June: "GDR Authorities Do Not Stop Christians but Display Pettiness at Peace Activities--'Dare to Trust'--Peter Jochen Winters Reports on Church Meeting in Rostock"]

[Text] At the church meeting of the Mecklenburg and Greifswald church in Rostock. This is one of the seven regional church meetings held in the GDR during the year of Luther under the general motto of "Dare to Trust." Church banners are flying from Rostock's main railroad station. There is a poster that cordially welcomes church meeting participants. There are church banners at the city's churches and in front of the new sports and convention center--which for 3 days will be taken over by Christians alone--and on the large parking facility in front of Interhotel Warnow in the center of town. Christians, church meeting participants, dominate the atmosphere of the city on the Warnow River that was in former times a member of the Hanseatic League and is now a modern socialist port city. The church meeting participants are not hiding in socialist society and can no longer be pushed to its fringes.

Everywhere you meet people--young and old--wearing on their coats, hats or handbags the bright yellow patches with the symbol common to all regional church meetings held in the GDR during the year of Luther and with the common motto "Dare to Trust." Many people are wearing the church meeting badge with Luther's picture on a chain around their neck and also leather crosses with the inscription "Dare to Trust." During the church meeting in Erfurt, these leather crosses still aroused the displeasure of state authorities. Students and apprentices who wore them openly ran into trouble.

In Rostock, state authorities were initially on their best behavior: policemen were helpful and friendly, and there were a number of cases when they said to church meeting participants who had committed a traffic violation: "Because this is the church meeting, this will cost you only 10 marks, just this once!" The many members of Rostock's parishes assigned to keep order at the church meeting were allowed to do their job--wearing their red caps--without objections from the police. But already on the following weekend during the church meeting in Frankfurt/Oder, the situation

reportedly changes. There, authorities objected to the red caps worn by church helpers and would not allow them.

And on one point authorities were unbending in Rostock too, on the question of independence peace actions by young people. In the Church of Mary, young Christians had posted copies of a letter to State Council chairman Honecker in which they complained about their treatment by FDJ members during the Pentecost youth rally in Rostock. Complying with the intervention by state authorities, church leaders had these letters covered up on the last day of the church meeting. But other documentary materials prepared by the group of young Christians and describing their actions and the reaction by state authorities remained accessible. According to these documents, young Christians had intended to participate in the official peace rally of the FDJ by displaying homemade signs with the slogans such as "Disarm" and "Without Peace No Future" and with peace symbols such as a rose growing from behind barbed wire--the symbol of Lidice--or the transformation of a tank into a truck or a person destroying a gun. These young people were then pushed aside and were surrounded by flag bearers, and their posters were destroyed. They were called "troublemakers" and "instigators." In the documents displayed in Rostock's Church of Mary the young people reported on the reaction by Rostock's deputy mayor. Talking to a member of the group, he approved of the measures of the FDJ, defined the young people's actions as a "disturbance" and pointed out that "law and order" was still in rule in Rostock.

In their letter of almost two pages the young people from Rostock are asking Honecker to give their peace commitment a change in the GDR. It can be assumed that the State Council chairman will have received similar letters from several places in the GDR. It is known that the Jena "peace community" reported to Honecker about its experiences at a Pentecost peace meeting of the FDJ and that an independent peace action of young Christians in Schwerin during the official FDJ peace rally was cut short in the same way as the one in Rostock. This shows that "Jena" was not an isolated event in the GDR.

Everywhere at the Rostock church meeting it could be noticed that Christians in the GDR had become more self-confident. At mass meetings in the sports and convention center made available by the state, Superintendent Magirius from Karl Marx City spoke to thousands of participants about the fact that the power of those in power must rest on an atmosphere of confidence. "To me this means that there must be points of contact where those who are ruled must be able to tell those in power whatever troubles them, points where they are heard and where that which is heard is also understood." Matirius said that he was troubled by the fact that in many cases where a request is rejected, no reason for the rejection is given. To the applause of the church meeting participants, Magirius said verbatim: "I am told that no explanations can be given for reasons of security. For reasons of security, authority has to assert itself so often and so quickly. For reasons of security, people close to me are approached and enlisted with the purpose of securing the power of the authorities. For reasons of security, people are frequently held responsible in ways that are out of proportion: two girls who had prepared their own posters and wanted to honor



Karl Marx at the Karl Marx monument with a lantern are taken into custody. For reasons of security, the population is not allowed to be aware of certain types of information. The people in power do not allow the citizens of this country to decide for themselves whether an author slanders our country or whether he writes his book out of his great love and hope for change. I want to pass on to those in power my own experience that trust creates more security than control through force." But the answer--according to Magirius--is always the same: "If we loosen up control in one place, we must double our authority tomorrow."

At the final church service held on Park Square in the inner city "under an open sky, without surrounding walls that create boundaries and enclosures," District Bishop Rathke of Mecklenburg spoke about the questionable quality of traditional ideas of security. In his address to about 20,000 people the bishop said: "Our forefathers already knew well that arms and guards alone do not produce peace." Rathke asked whether any future efforts to obtain security are not in vain. "Why, in addition to the existing huge armies, should entire populations be militarized and taught hatred for one another?" Daring to trust also implies asking the question about survival, "in the name of God."

On a previous occasion, Bishop Rathke and Bishop Theissing, the Catholic administrator in Schwerin, had spoken out at an ecumenical forum against the threat to peace from education for hatred, to the strong applause of the participants. "Nothing, really nothing endangers peace so much as education for hatred," said Theissing, who defined the term "struggle for peace" as "nonsense in itself." This term is constantly used by Marxists, but a commitment for peace can only become effective through peaceful means. The peace concept of Christians is different from that of Marxists.

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TONE FOR NEW HISTORIOGRAPHY SET AT 1982 MEETING

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian Jan 83 pp 83-96

[Article by Sandor Balogh: "The Trend of Clarifying Historical Knowledge"]

[Text] The Agitation and Propaganda Department of the MSZMP Central Committee organized on 16-19 June 1982 at Eger the latest conference on theory under the title "History and Social Thinking" with the participation of historians, sociologists, philosophers, writers, journalists, practical politicians and others in public life. The Eger conference was a logical continuation of earlier meetings, similar in nature and composition, at Pecs and Tatabanya where a theoretical approach to and working out of important and timely social problems was on the agenda. The theme of the Eger conference was justified not only by the interest manifest in history nowadays in Hungary, as shown by data on book publications, sociological studies, and so forth, but also by the assessment that without a specific and faithful revealing of historical reality and particularly a manysided and objective consideration of the experience of our recent past we simply cannot give a reliable and forward-moving answer for the solution to the problems in our present national and international world, which is burdened with so many difficulties and worries. The foregoing, of course, applies not only to decisionmakers but understandably also to the doers and executors in our society.

Undeniably, in the past decade and a half a number of important historical works have been published in Hungary which serve in a demonstrably successful way--either within the framework of education or outside as a foundation for the development of socialist historical consciousness in society. Similarly, the propagation of scientific knowledge, popular writing, memoirs, and also the more valuable literary and artistical works have exerted or expressed their effect in this sense and direction. It would be, moreover, a mistake to pass up silently that quarter-century-old political practice--including party propaganda--which has been a very important factor and still is from the viewpoint of a more realistic and modern national self-understanding.

Nowadays, historians and nonhistorians alike accept an increased interest in history as a fact. But the picture is not at all so uniform and mainly positive in respect to the consciousness-forming possibilities, more exactly, the effectiveness of historical writing wherein both the broader public opinion and the scientific circles give voice rather to their feelings of

want--critically or self-critically--particularly when discussing the present conditions or the substance of historical consciousness in society. In search for the causes, at the 1976 annual congress of the Hungarian Historical Association at Szekesfeherevar Ivan T. Berend called attention to the fact that "even the best research works are studies which generally appear in a small number of copies in the columns of specialized monographs or specialized journals. And most of these are addressed only to fellow researchers and to readers with specialized views." At the same time, Miklos Lacko related the lack of social effectiveness in historical science to the internal problems of historical writing. What he had to say is timely in a number of respects and therefore it is worthwhile to quote in greater detail: "This science has studied itself only insofar as it was itself a prisoner of common biases. The intellectual stance of the enemies of bias rationally denied the common biases without adequately examining their background. Thus at times, in the field of national problems, for example, the inclination was to include among the historical biases that which is a living, objective, historical factor, although it has been overlayed with a series of biases. Sometimes it emphasized the objective necessities to such an extent that the subjective possibilities of social activity were forced behind it and into the background. That which is emotional also at times found itself somewhat in the bias category. This kind of historical writing honestly recognized only one passion: the passion for rationality. It carried the struggle against manipulative historicizing so far that it fancied a positive, historicizing-free science, believing that as a result of the deductive arrangement of facts and sources the historical truth would appear without reaching the past through the evaluations of the present, almost by itself." With the above lines, Lacko characterizes only that trend of Hungarian historical writing which he respects the most. It also appears from this that he does not regard our historical writing as having a "homogenous spirit" either in respect to the recent past or the present. However, at the Eger conference Gyorgy Szaraz mentioned in essence the appearance of two trends, although it is true he did not limit these exclusively to historical science. According to him, at the end of the 1950's Hungary reached a period of self-study and revaluation; "Two camps were formed, the "heroizing" and the "deheroizing." Not entirely without justification, the former guarded against the final withering of self-esteem and a unifying historical-civic consciousness. The latter, and again not without justification, guarded internationalism against the revival of national arrogance, illusions and related dangerous ideas." It is another question whether these lines express exactly the essence and characteristics of the two trends in question but Szaraz is unconditionally right when subsequently--and in another context--he speaks of the unity of the present historical consciousness. In the formation of historical consciousness, it is not enough to speak of the lack of unity in historical consciousness, for popular writings, memoirs, and literature and artistic creations also shape, as they did earlier, the historical consciousness and sometimes more effectively than historical writing. And sometimes in such a way that in their historical subjects they liberate themselves from historical science, they do not mediate the newest result with their own characteristic means, but perhaps reflect an obsolete outlook, they raise episodes to the rank of essence, and the antiquated they proclaim as novelty or modern. Pal Zsigmond Pach also extended himself in the introduction to his lecture to these "new" phenomena

appearing within and outside the historical writing. It was his opinion that these discoveries are in style and are enjoying an actual renaissance, and under the title or guise of correcting a former onesidedness frequently offer a radical reevaluation. He called attention to the fact that it would be wrong to consider this phenomenon only a relation of an earlier onesidedness, because many other sources could be found among the causes. Among other things, a kind of value loss, a lack of certainty in the future, the effect and advance of bourgeois ideas and trends, and so forth. Basically, Ferenc Glatz agreed with the above, with the addition that he also pointed to the positive new phenomenon in his lecture: "The new value system is undoubtedly in opposition to the earlier one, and it is also without doubt that this present reevaluation process as a reaction to the earlier onesidedness--and this is how I regard the views of common thinking about Hungary's role in World War II that are often not scientifically thought out--may easily lead to a historical blurring of the actual social opposites, even as this new kind of national pride conceals the danger of a new nationalism in itself, a self-satisfaction, a feeling we are different from others, and at the same time the danger of being uncritical about the past outlook. But without doubt, in the relationship as a whole to national history, a much healthier public attitude has developed than the one that existed formerly." That there was more to the question than this was expressed by Byorgy Szaraz, who at the Tatabanya conference on theory characterized the last quarter of a century as a process of completely possessing our national history.

No one at Eger denied, and of course no one could have denied, that such a possessing occurred; and no one denies it now either--it is free of contradictions. In fact, from time to time new sources of danger not only may appear but may also be strengthened and seek to acquire a new forum. From the viewpoint of release from conservative elements and survivals of historical consciousness and no less of warding off other negative phenomena striving to come to the surface, it is very important that Hungarian Marxist historical writing and publicistic writing should consistently and fully divest itself in outlook and method--over a rather long time--from the various distortions that have been given expression.

It was in this context at the Eger conference that historical writing, popular publicist writing and not least of all the past and still effective historicizing activity of politics were presented. Zsigmond Pal Pach put it in this way that history must be used as an example and any perceived actions of the present are attributable to a preceeding course of historical events which have their unique emphasis and character and a thought process justified by a motif. It was in the beginning of the 19th century, generally, that historiography began to approach history in this way. "But it did this"--Pal Zsigmond Pach pointed out--"first in the reform period and the 1848 period with progressive character in respect to its main direction and with historical reasoning buttressing socio-political efforts. Later in the dual period and especially after 1979 with increasingly more retrograde goals regarding the line prevailing in the period between the two world wars." According to their functions, Pal Zsigmond Pach clearly differentiated the two periods of historicization mentioned by him, or the two trends, but he did not neglect to note that the handling of history with a direct striving for

effectiveness and the intention of adjusting to the prevailing present tied these together to a certain degree and in a manner, sooner or later, to the detriment of not only science but also politics. And from this he drew the conclusion that the interest in social history must be satisfied by the advance of an actual historical outlook which under the sign of the Marxist concept of social development views history through contradictory processes—as realized in conflicting class struggles—and accidentals appearing in the medium of necessity and patterns realized in the accidental. As opposed to historicization, which projects present efforts into the past, historicity is what may mediate to the present the experiences of the past with an orientating effect. On the other hand, in interpreting the historicizing way of thinking, Ferenc Glatz proceeded from the point of view that the "historicizing reflexes" of the common way of thinking contributed to a decisive extent to the expansion of rightful but manipulated national grievances and the survival of national problems. According to him the domestic, antifascist independence movements which appeared in the second half of the 1930's also approached Hungarian history in a historicizing way of thinking, and these regarded themselves as the true inheritors of the national tradition. They pinned on their political flag Kossuth and Petofi, historical personalities who are linked to the idea of national historical unity, merging of interests, and at the same time mobilizable against the fascist threat. Ferenc Glatz emphasized, "Such a revaluation of national symbols in propaganda—regarding it as a result of political tactics—spurred significant peasant and bourgeois subclasses into a stance against fascism." Moreover, it seemed to him that after the liberation the Communist Party, striving with great deliberation to take power, strove with at least this kind of deliberateness to develop a unified ideological system, in which the revaluation of national history as a whole was given a very important place. He also added to the foregoing that the leaders of the Communist Party, and chiefly Jozsef Revai, did well in presenting the historical fulfillment of domestic political thinking. But Ferenc Glatz merely put it into the form of a question whether the party leadership frequently turned political debates to the field of history for tactical considerations, or whether it simply did not pay attention to the tie between a historicizing way of thinking and antidemocratic politicizing practice. He, too, recognized that historicization may fulfill a positive political role in its function, but still he emphasized that both trends of historicization adhere to an epistemologically conservative political-philosophical way of thinking, and it may strengthen a political practice antithetical to socialist democracy.

Without denying the positive political function of historicizing, we cannot forget the consequences under certain circumstances and conditions. Or those phenomena and aftereffects which were and are related to problems in historical consciousness, and not at all independently of "progressive historicization." To document the foregoing, it is enough merely to refer to how after the liberation and particularly in the 1950's, they handled the relationship and question of nationalism and patriotism which were made completely independent of each other in their origin and development by historicizing historical writing and publicistic writing, and they regarded the former as absolutely bad more or less from time immemorial and they



qualified the latter as an absolute good deprived largely of its historical background and torn loose from its historical interrelationships. Thus this historicizing activity did not need to follow the periodically changing role of the bourgeois class, its national ideology, and nationalism its course of development and content because there was a great gap between the principle of historicalness and the concept of the above-mentioned patriotism. In this way, it was superfluous for it to work out the different trends and nuances of nationalism in a given period that could and had to be kept as a progressive heritage. Accordingly, the judgment on historical personalities also frequently depended on whether they were invested with the qualifying term of patriot or nationalist. This outlook recognized only "white" or "black," and on occasion topped this by investing the chosen with intellectual, moral and also physical characteristics which daily political needs required. Here I would only note in passing that in the formation of such a picture, literature, the theater and film undertook, of course, an important role. In this "canonization" mechanism the number of those selected constantly declined and actual values were also in fact compromised, the historical consciousness became impoverished, and society was left without actual models. We are not here even mentioning that faithful depiction, or the attempt, of the activities and role of historical personalities who were left in a fog or forced into the background appeared not as a step taken toward historical objectivity in the atmosphere as it developed or in social consciousness, but all the more it aroused a sense of political change and strengthened the political reflexes of people, but did not enrich their historical consciousness. From this point of view it would not be without interest to examine in greater detail, let us say, the rotating sequences and reversals of the Istvan Szechenyi cult, and follow it in the 20th century or in the decades after the liberation, all the more so because perhaps the present historical consciousness still does not know what to make of their simultaneous timeliness.

It is not difficult to discover the consequences of historicizing in those problems which were caused by the negative ideological effects "associated" with the international and domestic antifascist independent movement, or are still caused in many respects down to the present to the communist and worker parties. The proclamation or determination by the revolutionary workers movement that it is realizing this unity without concessions of principle could not in itself, of course, have represented an adequate guarantee from the viewpoint of warding off danger. The concept and ideal of patriotism torn artificially from historical soil and which from the beginning contained everywhere—to a greater or lesser degree--nationalist elements which could not be listed in the category of value or progressive national heritage, could also survive without any further problems after the war if they did not directly increase the external and internal problems of policy, specifically of the existing authority. But in general, not only was an objective and self-critical analysis of the relation with the national past lacking, but also for the most part the substance for representation of national interests--beyond slogans and manifestoes--remained unclarified. In the years after the war, the governments of countries listed among the defeated--in accordance with armistice and then peace provisions--obligated themselves to draw both the political and ideological consequences. But in one or another country,



including Hungary, the power, and chiefly the participating Communist Party, frequently implemented these in such a way that it permitted a part of the valuable national heritage that had to be protected to wither away by its avoidance of the international charge of nationalism. At the same time, the Communist parties of the victorious states in Central and Southeastern Europe built for the most part the ideology of the antifascist independence movement unselectively into their ideological system. But by the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's these differences decreased perceptibly, and now in respect to the awakening and the fostering of patriotism the political and military requirements of the Cold War situation were of paramount importance. In this period, too, a great deal was said, of course, about the struggle against nationalism, but everywhere for the most part--whether explicitly or implicitly--this was in reference to the "garden next door." But within a given country it was mostly those national characteristics that became the target of the fight against nationalism which appeared necessarily at a time of transition from capitalism to socialism. In these years, science and propaganda--aside from weak attempts--did not direct their attention primarily to general characteristically dialectical interrelationships and mutual effects but strove for the theoretical justification of policy.

It would be an exaggeration to ascribe solely, or in greater part, to historicizing that a solid and reliable picture of the antifascist independence movement or resistance, to be more exact, still has not developed in the Hungarian consciousness. This is all the more difficult to understand because historical research has actually done lasting work in this field. As a matter of fact, in this respect, the principles were also plain and clear. As is generally known, it was the 7th Comintern Congress that was the ideological and political source which the Communist parties used to draw up their policies regarding the antifascist independence front movement and armed resistance. Under this sign they mobilized everyone to unity--without regard to class situation and party standing, world outlook and ethnic affiliation--who was inclined to fight against fascism, which represented at the time the greatest danger to humanity, and against Hitler's Germany which represented the main strength of fascism. It was this policy which created the possibility that the antifascists--including the Communists, the bourgeois conservatives and the legitimists--could join in a united front in all countries. In accordance with what has been outlined above, an antifascist independence movement and armed resistance were also organized in Hungary, but these remained relatively weak to the end of World War II and did not develop into a national scale armed uprising. If for nothing else than to draw lessons for the future, historical research in the post-liberation period should have purposefully and thoroughly clarified the actual extent and strength of the resistance, all the forms that it assumed from the lowest order to the highest, including everything to the partisan struggles without regard to their social and political affiliation. Ultimately it was, in fact, the antifascist independence movement that as a whole justified the correctness of the Communist Party's policy of that period. Instead, historical research--of course, by no means independently of its political intention and requirements--studied for a long time only those things from the history of the resistance movement which were directly linked to the activities of the Communist Party. Thus it was not only the manifestations of bourgeois resistance that remained

obsured, but also the efforts of the others, including the military. This did not benefit historical consciousness from the viewpoint of understanding for the actual role of the Hungarian Communists, who undoubtedly made the greatest sacrifices. At the same time, those whom political and historical research "forgot" naturally were offended at their inequitable situation, and wherever and however possible they sought to express their sense of injury. By the time historical research had largely corrected its omissions, the textbooks were out of phase in this respect--largely for objective reasons--while publicistic writing and memoirs frequently followed their own path. Historical research can also draw a lesson from the foregoing on its own behalf, which Istvan Dioszegi put in this way in an earlier article on the tasks of historical and publicistic writing. "The timeliness of history is deeper and truer than seen by historicization. The past is not the prototype of the present, but our present world is located on those same coordinates as set the possibilities of our forebears for mobility. If historical and publicistic writing can offer this, there is no reason why it should be concerned about its scientific quality or its popularity."

In the lecture he gave at the Eger conference, Sandor Orban dealt in detail with the question why common thinking is not uniform in the interpretation and judgment of such an important event as the liberation about which the younger generation, including secondary school students, use for the most part only expressions like "the entry of the Russians," the "front," and the "assault." He explained the reasons for this by three factors that are not always separable: "The first of these is the masses affected by the liberation, and the state of preparedness of the population; the second, the contradictions and difficulties of the situation brought on by the liberation; and the third, certain problems of propaganda and the historical representation of the liberation." Orban's rich interpretations of thought are undoubtedly noteworthy contributions to the clarification and understanding of the problems of the liberation. However, he also fails to consider the relationship between the liberation and the establishment of the people's democratic power. Although without this we can hardly speak of the liberation as an "historical turning point," and all the less of how a uniform picture may be formed is common thinking. With the liberation "only" the possibility was created for the Hungarian people to take into their own hands the command of their own fate and that of the nation, which was actually realized 21-22 December 1944 with the establishment of the Provisional National Assembly and the Provisional National Government. It did not stop here, but with its participation in the central legislative and executive power it began the building of the new people's democratic state organization (army, police, public administration, and so forth), and in fact in the middle of March or before the full liberation of the present territory of the state the transformation of social relations by carrying out a democratic land distribution.

If we accept that the main problem of every revolution or basic social transformation is power, then after the formation of the Provisional National Assembly and the Provisional National Government it is worthwhile to discuss only the circumstances and nature of the establishment of a people's democratic power in Hungary and not the fact of the existence of this power. This is recognized in reality also by Sandor Orban when he speaks of the "Debrecen

rebirth." But one cannot understand his statement that "it is not difficult to recognize the effort directed at the late correction of adequate activity lacking in the above-mentioned proposal for the celebration of the Debrecen rebirth or in the liberation." It is true that the rebirth and its celebration are not events of the same substance, but perhaps it does no harm if in time they meet with each other.

Sociological surveys, sociopsychological studies, and experiences in university and college entrance examinations are more or less equally saddening, and in fact they give a depressing picture of the historical knowledge, or lack of it, in the growing generation. And it provides food for thought all the more because the graduates prepared for a career in which appropriate historical knowledge would be desirable from the professional point of view. In the information and statements about the incredibly low level of knowledge there are certainly some exaggerations, but no one can question anymore the generally low level if he feels responsibility for the present and the future of the society's historical consciousness. The reforms which have been introduced in the past decade and a half—under the title of guarding against overloading—have stripped the subject matter primarily of events and facts, or a significant share of these. And all this was done under the guise of developing independent thinking, which has been deprived of "material" by the above-mentioned measures and which have deprived the student intellectually and emotionally from actually working up history for himself. This has been contributed to—without respect to age—by excessive abstractions, which have frequently made history and historical knowledge into schemes for the large part, or made it vacuous with phrases. "It is not primarily from fault with the students," Matyas Unger pointed out in his lecture at Eger, "that schematicism, the use of prefabricated schemes, the mousing of phrases is a very characteristic symptom. The making of phrases has its own simple last. It has actual historical concepts but without any concrete substance. Phrase-making is tempting since a very poor historical vocabulary is enough, and the turn that can be used for every occasion is ready at hand." In his remarks on the teaching of history at schools, Ivan T. Berend criticized in part the outlook of Matyas Unger's lecture and certain statements, and in part he also examined the possibilities of development. It was his opinion that the strengthening of the position of history as a subject, the development of the teaching of history, and the strengthening of the outlook of historicalness is impossible if the subject of history is unable in some way also to fulfill the function of universal social science education within certain limits, with special regard for the most recent age. And in such a way that the subject of history will also integrate the knowledge of economics, law, sociology, and so forth. The newest syllabi, the textbooks that are being prepared, or have now appeared, and the modernization of teacher refresher training undoubtedly promise progress, but only the future can give the actual answer to the problems that clearly exist. And this is all the more urgent because both a growing demand and indifference are present in the relationship of young people to history. "This duality characterizes our youth, too, and it is to be feared," Antal Bohm stressed in his lecture, "that the new generations will grow up with unstable values, doubtful ideal images; the blank areas of our recent past, and the relative calm and balanced development of the last quarter century seems to have taken a significant share of our youth further from history."

The quantity and quality of historical knowledge acquired in schools is of greatest importance in the life of every generation from the viewpoint of historical consciousness. Besides politics and science, the other factors which form historical consciousness must also proceed from here in the designation of their tasks. Historical, national and social consciousness are reciprocal and assume one another. It follows from this, of course, that a socialist nation cannot be unified and firm without historical consciousness at the basis of the society.

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WRITERS UNION TIES TO OPPOSITION GROUPS TRACED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19-20, 25, 26-27 Mar 83, 9-10, 16-17  
23-24 Apr 83, 21-22, 28-29 May 83

[Article by Col Eugeniusz Banaszczyk: "Without Any Myths"; passages included in slantlines printed in italics]

[19-20 Mar 83 p 5]

[Text] In various communities, and in the military community as well, one continues to hear the same question: What is happening in the Writers Union? It seems that the extensive reports that were made by writers-PZPR members on the February conference and the accompanying commentaries did not clarify issues enough, and perhaps they even sparked society's interest in the meeting.

To be sure, the citizens of few countries of the world would be inclined to attribute such importance to the internal affairs of this type of association, not a very large one at that. Altogether it number 1,350 members. It does not include all who dabble in the art of writing with results to be envied by more than one member of our literary union. Were we to say that not every writer belongs to it, we would be expressing a reality from which follows the very unsurprising conclusion that a writers' organization is not all that indispensable to literature. However, if certain conditions are fulfilled, it can aid literary development. This was the founding assumption of the Polish Writers Union [ZLP], whose origins go back over 60 years, but whose real existence in People's Poland has just begun.

Once again, interest in its situation is great, considerably greater than interest in other artistic associations, where the characteristic lack of stability has become even more pronounced. This phenomenon speaks favorably of our society. Despite the force of the other media, it ascribes to literature [the power of] the word, a special meaning in the development of the national culture; it ranks it higher than the art of film, so available for mass consumption. As a result, society's expectations of writers also appear to be greater than its expectations of other groups of artists; one cannot hide the fact that, to a great extent this concerns their civic attitude and their ideological commitment to the vital and supreme rights of the people.



Many people think that this should be expressed not only in literary works, but also in non-literary activity. It is traditional with us that as soon as a writer becomes endowed with special social authority, special social responsibility is demanded of him. It is unthinkable that a man that infuses or would like to infuse new esthetic and moral values into our life would himself wallow in the mire, although in many other countries this is not so.

Hence the anxious interest in the situation inside the ZLP. Attempts have been made to satisfy this curiosity through open, objective reporting on the course of the events that have occurred in the past few years in this body, that is not merely a professional association. It seems necessary to point this out, if only because here and there false myths with hysterical undertones have begun to circulate. Meanwhile, it is no secret to anyone that a political battle was raging in the writers' community, as elsewhere. This battle continues.

Let the point of departure for our future considerations, however, be the preface to the ZLP statute. It reads as follows:

/"The Polish Writers Union is an organization of writers rooted in the principles of the system of the Polish People's Republic.

The writers banded together in the Polish Writers' Union join in the progressive traditions of human thought and creativity that have always been combined in Polish culture with concern for the country's welfare and with the struggle over just social relations.

The goals of the efforts and work of the ZLP and all its members are to continue these traditions and to develop modern Polish literature to its fullest."/

Let us keep in mind the content of these statements; reading them gives us much food for thought and a solid basis from which to draw conclusions.

Now to proceed to the heart of the matter.

#### On a Secret Mission

It was exactly on 3 May 1978 that a certain Zdzislaw Najder was elected to the auditing commission of the Warsaw ZLP branch at a general meeting. Before long he became the commission's chairman, and practically at the same time he was appointed to the documentation commission of the ZLP main board. At the time only a few people, for the most part outside literary circles, understood who he was and what purpose and whose ends Najder's election was to serve. He was on the editorial staff of the monthly TWORCZOSC; he was not widely known and gave the impression of being apolitical and mainly involved in his work. He was a long-time member of the ZLP, having joined in 1958. Had someone investigated his membership more closely, they would have been surprised to learn that when Najder was accepted into the ZLP, the regulations of the statute were overlooked. Not only had he not written even one book, he had no work of any great significance to his credit. He was to publish his first book only 9 years later. Nevertheless, we may attribute this shocking laxity to the period, which was both stormy and confused politically. Even more incredible things were happening, as the biggest literary workaholics

of the "previous period" became transformed overnight into spokesmen for every kind of freedom. Najder's case was not unique, although parenthetically speaking, it was reiterated not in Poland, but in Czechoslovakia in 1968, when a person named E. Goldstucker, whose credentials did not include a single book and who was, moreover, opposed to socialism, became the chairman of their writers' union.

It is of no particular importance who nominated Najder for his two positions, since it must be assumed that those who made the nomination were not aware that in 1978 their colleague was a special services agent for "several NATO states" as well as one of the leaders of the highly secretive political mafia known as the Polish Independence League [PPN] and a co-worker of the anti-Polish diversionary centers in Paris and Munich, the so-called Paris KULTURA and RWE [Radio Free Europe].

We may be certain that as such Najder would not be bothered with assuming ZLP offices if they did not promote his real work, which had nothing to do with literature, a sideline that was only his ostensible occupation. The positions he managed to secure for himself with the friendly support of others gave him full penetration of the union. Let us note here that the Warsaw branch, which Najder controlled at will as the chairman of the auditing commission, numbers over 750 members, i.e., more than half of the total membership, making it a decisive element of the organization. Access to the materials of the main board documentation commission facilitated matters even more, since this commission had assembled information on the activities of the entire ZLP and on each of its members individually.

No comment need be made on the relationship of Najder's actions to the statute quoted previously. Let us add only that he must have performed his duties well, since in 1981 he was re-elected chairman of the Warsaw auditing commission and also retained his position on the documentation commission. Formally, he still holds these two positions, although his dual role was revealed a year ago.

Recommending this unique subject to some capable filmmaker, such as Andrzej Wajda, as material for a film on a mission performed under the pay of someone else, let us add on the Najder question that he set about his official and unofficial tasks on the union field during the very period that the offensive of the forces of the antisocialist opposition in the cultural sphere gained impetus. Let us not exclude the fact that in this case the frequent talks Najder conducted with his acquaintances in the employ of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw and his foreign trips, made for the purpose of urgent study on the legacy of Jozef Conrad-Korzeniowski, also had their significance.

#### Slight Differences, but the Same Purpose

It was already mid-year 1978. The notorious KOR [Workers' Defense Committee], transformed into the KSS [Social Self-Defense Committee], clearly marked out its route to move into the artistic intelligentsia, infiltrating its associations on a broader and broader scale in the aim to put them under the control of the antisocialist opposition. Success here was achieved the most

rapidly in cinematography and in the theater, but literature was the one area that whetted the appetite most vigorously. Early on, the attacks in this field became bolder and bolder, occurring during the period of the April general union congress in Katowice and again at the general meetings of the Warsaw and Krakow branches. Oppositionist activists, camouflaged to a greater or lesser degree, admittedly made very clever moves.

It should be explained that KSS-KOR, taking advantage of the forced, and hence, the farreaching liberalism of the authorities at that time (forced by credit bought for dollars), conducted its work almost openly, although it was an illegal organization. Its co-workers, who were enshrouded by varying degrees of secrecy determined by the covert leadership nucleus, unmasked themselves more and more often as the situation allowed and challenged the system directly. But the situation with regard to the Najder PPN, likewise established in 1976 and likewise inspired by the secret services from across the Atlantic, was not like this. Although this body was linked to the KSS leadership through specific individuals, it was highly secretive, calling to mind vividly the operations of the modern Mason lodge. Small in numbers and loosely-structured, it was exclusive and gathered together the elect, who were imbued with a sense of their own superiority over the "rabble," i.e., society. Doubtless this demanded that they prepare to assume authority over society when capitalism would be restored in Poland. This was stated in the PPN program published openly in the Paris KULTURA, in which the primary focus was on activity directed toward the most farreaching political changes on the worldwide scale (sic!) [(sic!) as published], in accordance with the political goals of militant Americanism. Poland had its role in this task.

Thus, were we to look for an anti-socialist opposition "brain trust" somewhere, we would find it ultimately in the PPN, with the KSS and the other counter-revolutionary organizations in the arena representing political practice with an enormous number of operational centers, as we unfortunately have come to learn.

It was relatively easy for activists of the opposition to influence the literary community and other related milieus, primarily due to the ill-fated cultural policy of Edward Gierek's administration. It engendered crisis symptoms very rapidly that were very evident in culture. On the wave of the general disenchantment in the community, speeches against the authorities gained support. More than one writer was shocked even then by the symptomatic phenomenon in which the main authors of the attacks were people who enjoyed special privileges with the powers-that-be; they were even known as the "darlings of the authorities." Some, such as Andrzej S. and Stefan B., even belonged among the encomiasts of the "decade of successes," but only until the bubble burst, of course. Then, after the pattern of their predecessors from 1955-1956, with whom many of them were linked, they began to pick up a totally different wind in their sails. Parenthetically speaking, these predecessors, all of them, such as Kazimierz B., Wiktor W., Andrzej B. and the like, adhered to their chosen political positions clearly without disdaining state support.

[25 Mar 83 p 4]

[Text] With the passage of time, the number of political incidents provoked by oppositionist groups at various union gatherings has increased. Representatives of the opposition have also managed to penetrate the central ZLP authorities. This group surrounded itself with a larger and larger group of sympathizers. It is a process that took place for various reasons, including the lively and demagogic agitation aimed at all those who were expected to react positively.

These programed undertakings took into account every sort of attempt at lobbying that was moved onto private ground in individual cases. And, once again, there was no dearth of subjects to be indoctrinated; disenchantment was widespread within the community. To a great extent, this was due to the worsening material situation of most writers, in particular those that were not connected with the various cliques, whose members knew how to do pretty well for themselves in any situation, obviously more by virtue of their craftiness than due to the worth of their pursuance of the writer's craft.

The selective indoctrination methods used by the opposition included a full range of inducements: from lofty phrases interlarded with professed concern over creative freedoms and cultural values to wholly pedestrian promises when circumstances demanded this. Numerous connections with the editorial apparatus, reviewers and those who controlled material support in offices and organizations were utilized; an entire protectionist system was developed to take care of needs in exchange for support for the actions of the opposition. This had the added benefit of making the KSS-KOR famous for its limitless influence and possibilities. The potential for a writer's being given a spot under the very philanthropic parasol of a Western patron was another sort of enticement that, as Artur Sandauer stated recently, was stronger than the patronage of the people's state, since it was more lucrative and added to one's renown abroad.

Unfortunately, that was the reality. The demands of the literary community made long ago, which are entirely natural to its position, which were expressed adamantly and consistently by the party organization for a long time before the Eighth PZPR Congress and were intensified just prior to it, found no response among the party and state authorities. This worsened the mood and demobilized many committed writers; it led those who were indifferent or ordinary opportunists into the widestretched arms of anti-socialist politicians. In general it may be expressed that throughout the artistic community there appeared at that time the phenomena that became so widespread after August 1980.

The literary party organization renders a great service to the entire writers' community by acting always on its behalf regardless of the existing divisions. In this situation it lost much of its authority, which will have very bad consequences in the near future, not only for the organization but probably for the ZLP above all, driven by reactionary dictates and being used as an instrument of political struggle against the socialist state.



## The Opposition Takes the Offensive

On 5 May 1980, the reports meeting of the Warsaw ZLP Branch, which is provided for by law, was held. As has already been stated, this branch dominates the nationwide union structure. By that time, the opposition felt strong enough to strike openly at the existing union model. It was a model of partnership, at whose foundations, despite the existing differences in world and political views, lay the assumptions made explicit in the previously-cited ZLP statute. Uniting writers in the name of the good of our national literature and acting on their behalf in various ways, the ZLP was founded on progressive, socialist principles basic to the Polish system that thus accounted for Poland's rights as a state as well.

This union model was named the Iwaszkiewicz model, after the famous writer and social activist who for more than 20 years had the honor of being chairman of the main board and enjoyed well-deserved authority. This authority, however, became questioned more and more by the spokesmen of the counterrevolution under the KSS-KOR banner who were fed propaganda by secret emissaries of the PPN found within the ZLP.

A typical example of this unusually undesirable way of acting is the note published after the death of Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz in March 1980 in the KSS Information Bulletin that was nothing more than a libelous attack, full of false insinuations against the deceased. It should be pointed out that a ZLP member, Anka K., who was also a member of the KSS, worked on the editorial staff of this bulletin. She was not alone there, but was assisted by her more than cooperative colleagues of the pen who shared her views. In this same issue that slandered the memory of Iwaszkiewicz, there was another short article in which all sorts of absurd accusations were made at several party writers. When the lies were exposed at once, their author, who feared for his own skin, was forced to admit to them. This person was Jan Jozef L., ZLP member and also a member of the KSS. Thus, the attitude of KSS activists to the truth in general, and to the statutory obligations of a ZLP member in particular was already clear at that time.

The 5 May 1980 reports meeting of the Warsaw branch was to confirm this attitude in full.

The pretext for the entire affair, which was orchestrated beforehand, was the militia's arrest of a certain Mirosław Chojecki, who was suspected of taking part in the theft of duplicating equipment (which, by the way, was true).

Chojecki, a KSS-KOR member, was one of the major organizers of the illegal publishing activity of this subversive organization. The KSS publishing activity developed beyond belief during that period, but no one really stood in their way. In addition to various bulletins, news-sheets and handbills, they printed periodicals, brochures and books whose content was markedly anti-socialist and anti-state. Obliging help in their endeavors was provided by the Paris diversionary center financed by the American special services and directed by the notorious Jerzy Giedroycia [as published], nota bene a promoter of Z. Najder in his secret work and co-organizer of the PPN.



Currently Chojecki, who is staying in Paris, is one of the closest supporters of Giedroycia, as one of the foremost activists in the group that calls itself deceitfully Solidarity.

I am speaking, of course, of the literary journal that developed out of the illegal ZAPIS [Record] edited by several writers associated with the KSS and also surrounded by the "spiritual" patronage of the PPN. Two things must be said about ZAPIS. First, not more than one-fourth of each issue was devoted to literary texts, and the rest was propaganda and agitational material with an obvious political intent. Second, ZAPIS also represented a carrot for writers that offered them, in the words of Jacek B., one of its editors, the only possibility for expressing themselves fully and freely. It should be pointed out that in the literary community, this publication was touted as a literary tribune of special merit, which it could have been proud of, were it true.

With regard to the possibility of publishing in ZAPIS, it soon became clear that many are called, but few are chosen, since the basic criterion for printing material amounted to the negation of Polish reality. This trend was also basic to the book editions published under the firm NOWA, an abbreviation for the so-called Independent Publishing Office, totally under the control of KSS-KOR and supervised personally by Kuron and Michnik. This firm primarily published items that did more than question socialism, but undermined its principles and frequently railed against them.

It was Chojecki who directed this firm. Although he was not a writer and did not belong to the ZLP, his case was brought before the Warsaw ZLP branch. This case was only the beginning of a sharp, wide-scale attack directed less against the authorities than against the systemic foundations of our state. It is curious that in the fervor, somehow the most important problems in the literary situation were forgotten, nor was any defense made of those writers who deserved it. Instead, in orchestrated statements, political questions were raised within the familiar anti-socialist framework in praise of the KSS-KOR and the towering values of its publications. Here the names of their authors were not forgotten. However overlook this detail as inessential today. In this unsubtle publicity campaign, several speakers did not neglect to publicize themselves in their unconcealed desire to be seen as advocates of "real" literature, although years before, some of them certified that they were "real" communists with the same fervor.

There is no doubt that this was staged, for it was not a reports meeting planned as a conscious demonstration to show the power of the anti-socialist opposition and its agency within the union. The necessary psychosis was created to disintegrate the literary community and draw it over to its side.

The voices of reason were drowned out in the tumult, and those that tried to discredit the party organization in the Warsaw branch were applauded. This led to the conclusion that the party organization was a distinct obstacle to the expansivist aims of the opposition. And so it was in reality.

## Another Disappointment

The party organization executive board published a statement on the subject of this unusual "reports" meeting soon after it was held. For the purpose of reflection, it is worthwhile to become familiar with some fragments of this statement. It stated: /"We have the right to say that treating the forum of the Warsaw branch reports meeting as a place for the ostentatious, broad publicizing of the actions of an unconstitutional political group was an act that arouses anxiety about the fate of the Union and the hopes that its writers place in it..."/ Anyone will tell you that these words were truly prophetic. Further on, the statement said: /"It is difficult to resist the impression that the spirit of the sect that terrorized literary life 30 years ago has become reincarnated and once again is bringing in its two qualities that are difficult to accept to the world of literature—pride and hate. If we consider as the natural psychology and the firm conviction of the sect that all propriety, morality, integrity and nobility, and as a reward for this all talent as well are in the hands of a fixed group, then the rest of the literary community is at best morally dubious and moreover penalized with inferior talent. The tone of pride and the language of hate speak rather of those that use such a tone and language than of those to whom these statements are addressed."/

The reference made in that text to /"the spirit of the sect that terrorized literary life 30 years ago"/ was very apt, especially since among the chief adherents of the prophetic political orientation were those that imposed a stiff despotism on writers at that time in the name of powerful authorities. In this way, they were not very different from the KSS leaders, who were once the wonder-children of the so-called "Bermanowszczyzna" [Bermanowski cult] that ruled culture absolutely for 6 years. The /"tone of pride and the language of hate"/ were correctly ascribed to that period, now recreated skillfully and developed by the Najderists and the Kuronists.

The significance of the meeting described herein was as lamentable as it was prophetic. In reality, it was a general test of the coming frontal attack on the ZLP, in order to transform it into an oppositionist organization and to succumb totally to the subjugation of the country's destructive forces. It is a fact that the content of speeches clashed with the ZLP statute and even broke it, a fact that only this intent could confirm.

One way or another, during the course of the meeting, honest and serious writers who were able to perceive the danger that the activity of the political adversary held for the ZLP began to open their eyes. Up until that time, the oppositionist leaders, aiming to put themselves in a suitable position, had made clever moves in which dilatoriness was jumbled with mistification. Now, from the false declaration of the desire for understanding, they proceeded openly to the arbitrary imposition of their position upon the literary community, not masking their intolerance of others' views. It was another matter that not everyone did this. A certain reserve waited for special tasks.

Serious writers, perhaps even the vast majority of writers, regardless of their convictions, awaited the counteroffensive to the assault of the reactionary right from the party organization above all as the nucleus of healthy forces capable of waging an effective defense of the rights of authors against the authorities that could also halt an invasion of the ZLP by our adversary. The party aktiv, fully aware of the situation and sensing its responsibility, despite past failures, engaged the presence of PZPR KC [Central Committee] secretary Jerzy Lukaszewicz at a special meeting of the Warsaw organization devoted to the most pressing issues of the literary community. This was so that the representative of the highest party authorities who was involved directly with cultural issues would undertake specific commitments on this matter. Jerzy Jesionowski presented the most burning issues in detail. This meeting took place on 11 June 1980. It had no positive results; the demands that had been made hung in mid-air.

This disappointment had a very negative impact upon the prestige of the party organization, causing a decline in its activism and even some disintegration at its center. It also led to an increase in the apathy of non-party writers that were close to the party. This situation bore serious consequences.

The leaders of the opposition were well informed of this; they did not let the grass grow under their feet.

[26-27 Mar 83 p 5]

[Text] Now we must digress somewhat, for in spite of the falsity of the myths disseminated for the benefit of writers, such stories unfortunately are still be created. As an example, we have a passage from an interview conducted in March of this year by a representative of the Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, Zdzislaw Smechtala with Kazimierz Kazniewski.

The reporter wrote: /"At the all-Poland conference of writers who are PZPR members, the speakers gave dull speeches in general. In fact, only your speech, you forcefully jumped down the throats of the community and that of Tadeusz Holuj, who said that the struggle must be incorporated into writings and not be mere talk. This leads me to the conclusion that party writers are second-rate. The names of the speakers are not the pillars of our literature."/

This golden thought, reprinted by ZYCIE WARSZAWY, was not particularly tactful with regard to Kozniewski, who evaded the issue: /"I shall not answer the second part of the question. There is this kind, and there is that kind."/ It appears that the writer was not sure how he felt at that moment. However, such is the normal spontaneous reaction to stupid statements.

It is not known whether the reporter Smechtala was present (or conscious) at the meeting in question, or whether he received secondhand information. If, however, he was tempted to give his opinion, he ought to have written the truth. But, ignoring his demand that writers should become orators, we must note that Kozniewski did not jump down the throat of any "community," since

no self-respecting writer does this. Instead, he makes concrete, justifiable claims to the ZLP main board that, according to him /"...has a very serious political sin on its conscience."/ It did not commit this sin against the ZLP, but /"...against the Polish intelligentsia, against the Polish nation and the Polish state,"/ for it yielded to being used as a weapon of the policy of provocation. Had it not been for 13 December 1981, this /"would have had terrible consequences for us."/

Down whose throat did Kozniewski jump according to editor Smektala's report? Note that he represented GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, a publication meant for workers by its name. This makes matters even worse.

Tadeusz Holuj, on the other hand, did not use the phrase, /"the struggle must be incorporated into writings and not be mere talk,"/ but said that in speaking of literature as a field of ideological struggle, we should not forget that this struggle /"is waged above all in deeds and not in words,"/ after which he explained what he understands by this--something that editor Smektala was incapable of hearing for reasons that are known to him.

And so, having used a very interesting, devious method, the representative of GLOS ROBOTNICZY [as published] arrived at the surprising conclusion that party writers are "second-rate writers," which could be offensive to some writers from Wroclaw, Jozef Kelera, for example. And then he wrote that the names of the speakers were not the pillars of our literature.

#### Writers for the Register

Since Smektala was not able to explain what he understood personally by the concept "our literature," let us call to mind the names of the speakers in alphabetical order. They were: T. Drewnowski, M. Grzesczak, T. Holuj, J. Grzymkowski, J. Jesionowski, E. Kabatc, K. Kozniewski, J. Lenart, A. Minkowski, H. Markiewicz, Z. Morawski, K. Obidniak, J. Przymanowski, J. Putrament, T. Roszko, Z. Safjan, S. Stanuch, A. Twerdochlib and Z. Wojcik. If none of these names spurs much interest in editor Smektala, although more than one good, very good or even excellent book appears in the column, the suspicion arises that our journalist literary expert has not read any of these books, nor has he read any of the books of the approximately 230 other participants in the deliberations.

The question as to the reason why editor Smektala treats literary issues on the editorial staff of the widely read GAZETA ROBOTNICZA despite the above is pointless enough so as not to be a special issue. The duty to read books is imposed in the schools, and not in newspaper editorial offices, in which it is correctly assumed that a journalist of culture, having attended school, has a lifetime's store of reading under his belt.

What is most likely, however, is that editor Smektala is motivated by non-literary criteria in his assessment of a literary work; therefore, it is unkind to accuse him of great ignorance. If this is so, and let us say Stefan Zeromski turned up at the meeting in question, he would not have considered him either a pillar or any another architectural detail of our literature,



since such criteria effectively destroy any sense of detachment. This leads us to conclude that Smektala condescended to foist upon his readers the sort of "nomenclature" that has been used for years by political oppositionist agents with regard to the literary community, not to say the dirty dishwater of this system. It introduced its own register of writers divided into two parts. It took a positive view of the so-called independents, i.e., those that stood in opposition to the socialist system principles of the Polish state. Meanwhile, writers of the "regime" were given a negative assessment. This meant writers with a pro-socialist commitment, regardless of their sex, religious convictions, descent, views and the like. Party affiliation did not play a role here, since it really was not an objective measure, nonetheless, if necessary it could represent an added liability, as comrade Smektala tries to prove even today.

Let us note marginally that in time the "regime" writers began to be known as "collaborators." Upon closer analysis, however, one sees that this term may be applied very successfully to many "independents" that live fairly well at someone else's expense, while the daily existence of the "regimists" has not been an easy one.

The simple consequence of this false classification, that, incidentally, was initiated by the diversionary Paris KULTURA, was the refusal to admit that the works of "regime" writers were of any value and that the writers themselves had any talent. On the other hand, whatever the "independents" produced was roundly praised and an overwhelming effort was made to promote these authors, who created literary "giants" of "universal" value. The editions of their books in Western countries were to stand as testimony of this. It was no secret that this was the result of specific and understandable connections.

Clearly, given such a division, the real value of the works, especially their artistic value, is not very significant. Instead, the measure for assessing an author was his dissenting stance; the more radical it became, the higher he was ranked. The atrophy of the real literary criterion imbued with ideological values and its replacement by a procedure of "composed" reviews hastened this deliberate degradation of the writer's profession remarkably well.

#### After the Initial Campaign

One of the obvious results of this process was that many really talented writers plodded on with great difficulty. As a rule, they were ignored by the literary periodicals, which were reserved in general for the select few. In other words, they were doomed to remain permanently in the shadow of literary pseudo-greats. Of course, becoming part of the political coterie gave one a chance, but it was paid for in the loss of creative freedom.

The oppositionist group that penetrated the literary community under the KSS-KOR banner vigorously upheld this artificial division, publicizing it in its periodicals, with ZAPIS in the fore. According to ZAPIS, a writer was worthwhile not merely because he was in solidarity with the opposition,



but because he supported it actively. In other words, he more or less automatically became a mediocrity, even if he had written a brilliant work. As an incentive, the publication of lists of writers that had joined the opposition was begun. A campaign of a totally political nature was to ennoble literature; thus, it was nonsense, but more than one writer began to ascend the heights with this pass.

Let us recall other measures taken to dominate the community. While the number is surprisingly large, we shall limit ourselves to oppositionist actions after August 1980, when the great social shock helped put the opposition firmly in the saddle.

On 5 September, right after the final Jastrzebie agreement was concluded, the ZLP main board presidium met to consider the direction of union activities in the country's new situation. It would seem that a spirit of understanding should have pervaded these deliberations as well out of simple concern for literary development as a primary ZLP task. But this did not happen. As Kazimierz Kozniewski pointed out, /"...a violent quarrel erupted that divided us for the next 16 months."/ In the end, it lasted much longer than that.

Coincidentally, that same day there was a meeting of the Warsaw ZLP branch party organization. Party organization secretary Andrzej Wasilewski, who had taken part in the Fourth and Fifth PZPR KC Plenums, presented the importance of plans for the near future. It is worthwhile to quote the last part of his address here.

/"...The legal order that we propose to introduce into the field of the published word must bind both sides equally: both the state in its control functions and people of the pen in the area of the freedoms to which they are entitled. We demanded this legal order in our November 1978 declaration. Its implementation shall help us to eliminate the painful conflicts that arise with regard to the publication of works and the practice of the literary profession. We hope that under these conditions, many of our opponents, who sometimes have been pushed aside or have had not had their rights respected, will find a place for themselves with us as we try to repair the damage.

We must expect, however, that there will be those who are not satisfied by any changes, no matter how thorough or deep, that are within the bounds of the constitutional principles of the socialist state. We shall sense their growing pressure both on the national level and throughout our community. Thus, our party organization must continue in its leading role even more energetically than before, to arrive at the just demands and issues of the literary community, at the same time resolutely counteracting attempts within the ZLP to break the basic political tenets outlined in the Union statute.

The initial campaign threatening our national fortunes is behind us. We need understanding, discipline, the courage of our convictions and activism unsparing of effort to prevent the next campaign, which is just beginning, from becoming a tragedy."/

The growing pressure of anti-socialist forces was to become the real topic of the day.

[Text] The passages from Andrzej Wasilewski's statement quoted in the preceding article are a very broad characterization of the work of the party organization aktiv in the Warsaw ZLP branch that has been carried on for years. This organization, whose secretary before Wasilewski was Zbigniew Zaluski, never tried to dominate the literary community. Never abandoning its particular ideological position, it has tried to support the union leadership in the implementation of its statutory obligations, of which the development of literature is the foremost task. Hence the demands of the party organization when the crisis phenomena touched the sphere of culture, the sphere that had to be protected successfully to the extent that all available state funds permitted. This aim, expressed in various ways (and often with great vigor at party meetings) to invited qualified representatives of the party and state authorities, took the form of a program declaration of the organization in 1978. It was directed toward the entire literary community and, of course, to the authorities as well. As we mention this document of the period today, we must point out that it was well-received by writers, except for oppositionist opportunists, of course, since it corresponded with their wishes in all points. Unfortunately, the authorities reacted only weakly to it.

The same thing was repeated before August 1980 several times and on many planes. This led to the inevitable loss of the party's authority and the weakening of its position within the union. The party was less and less able to resist the attack of oppositionist group pressure conducted as an obvious political game and overtly aggressive beginning in September.

#### In Direct Conflict

It is symptomatic that during that most ordinary time, this group took over the party desiderata--without mentioning its authors--and announced them as its own. It made no attempt to embellish them; this was unnecessary, since they were well-founded in realities. If they were added to, it was in the use of irresponsible political slogans that exceeded the bounds of the cooperation of ZLP members based on the statute. Deeper reflection led to the perception of this unhappy sign that was certainly dangerous to literature and its prospects and signaled the growth of division in the communities. But a significant number of writers began to be lacking in such reflection, which is no accusation, but merely a statement of fact, remaining so despite anyone's opinions.

In his article, Kazimierz Kozniewski alluded to the attitude of our intelligentsia, saying that after August some of them began to "run amok" inexplicably. Despite everything, this description is exaggerated and should be replaced perhaps by "euphoria." In another place Kozniewski said: /"...Writers, people who, by virtue of their profession, are obliged to think politically, have shown themselves for the most part to be political babes, to avoid using a stronger expression. They have let themselves be torn to pieces, get carried away, be deluded and be made fools of."/ While there was some of this, the phenomenon did not occur only among writers, among whom, parenthetically speaking, skillful ideological work was not and is not done, leaving the

field wide open in a particularly sensitive area for our political adversaries who are not so indifferent, to display their talents. Moreover, before making any final judgments, we should look more closely at the situation that arose within the ZLP in the fall of 1980. Two political centers became clearly evident. One was the party organization that had had its trump cards snatched away through passivity and even the indolence of superior elements and thus naturally had lost adherents. The other center was the already strong pro-KOR oppositionist group, extremely unrestrained in organizational and propaganda work, with representatives among the authorities and in various ZLP agencies, as well as—why hide it?—in the party organization. It made very skillful use of its diverse connections that had lasted for many years—this is no secret either—with various people in the authority apparatus, in associations, institutions, on editorial staffs and the like. In its propaganda-agitational campaigns, it went to all lengths on a broad front, acting cleverly upon the emotions above all—emotions aroused by the mood of the period—and on the unfulfilled hopes of the community, disenchanted and even embittered by declarations that were empty words. Although they sounded lovely and resolute, e.g., the subsequent party organization resolution of 5 September, they yielded nothing. This turned eyes in a different direction, and the promises began to come flowing from this side in great abundance.

The dissident group, making use of all union planes, including artistic interest clubs, refrained from presenting its real face and from revealing its real plans and promised to fulfill finally the community's hopes thanks to the support of a "new social force." It is no wonder that many went for the tempting proposal, believing that something would come of it, naively supporting its golden-mouthed propounders. Moreover, those who said this were men that had been renowned as literary-artistic authorities for years. No one had to know how they became so or whose interests they now represented. Amid the muddle of lofty appeals and sociotechnical measures, it was impossible to discern the manipulators whose sole aim was to transform the Polish Writers' Union into an instrument of social and state destruction and to work at this consistently as if in the spirit of the August agreements.

The same spirit was to arouse the foremost oppositionist activists among writers to organize a meeting inaugurating the so-called Consultative Committee of Artistic and Scientific Associations, at ZLP headquarters of all places. The meeting was to have the very inviting purpose of ensuring that the artistic and scientific communities would cooperate in resolving the basic problems of culture and art. An objective observer of this meeting, without taking into consideration the fact that those in attendance were primarily activists for the anti-socialist opposition, based on the opinions expressed during the deliberations, would get the distinct impression that the purpose was not to develop constructive solutions leading toward an envisaged goal, but the negation of the tremendous cultural heritage of People's Poland, that one man described as a "hiatus in Poland's biography." The many just proposals made by the entire body, which were unrealistic because of our current national situation, could not alter this tone. This could not reflect favorably upon the assembled body.

Except for the secret organizers of this meeting, at the time no one could have known the real meaning of the entire show. Its actual purpose was to

create an institutional organ to steer the entire intellectual and organizational potential of these associations against the state, in order to seize its prerogatives in culture and science at the appropriate moment and to begin to direct them "socially," or, to be specific, to give both fields over to the monopolistic rule of the anti-socialist extreme. The contacts of the joint committee with the Solidarity leadership, in particular with its famous experts, as well as with the notorious "Experience and the Future" seminar, and the joint campaigns emanating from this soon revealed the direction of work.

This entire undertaking, conducted very effectively amid the chaos and the mental state that was current then, had the approval of the press claqueurs and of disoriented cultural journalists as well, whose political discretion generally was not their strong point. It lent oppositionist activists glamour and self-assurance and added new followers as well that trusted in the freely touted announcements of a "new order" in culture.

#### "We Will Check Your Books"

This reflected on the course of the important writers' meeting that was held on 10 November 1980. It was concerned with the election of delegates of the Warsaw branch for the general 21st ZLP Congress planned for the following year. Given that more than half of the total ZLP membership belonged to this branch, these elections predetermined the character of the congress, the make-up of the new authorities and further union activity in general.

The opposition group prepared in an exemplary manner for this meeting, ensuring itself the full attendance of adherents and programing them on the details. In this situation, a substantial part of the members of the branch, although unfriendly to the opposition, was distracted and unprepared for this kind of conventicle, and was simply helpless.

The meeting was opened with an hour-long address delivered by one of the union oppositionist leaders, Wladyslaw B. It was primarily an attack on the party organization, whose activists allegedly had plotted to plan a ZLP congress between the holidays, in this perfidious way making the participation of "independent" delegates impossible. The idea obviously was to create the appropriate psychological atmosphere within the hall at the beginning of deliberations and to neutralize potential adversaries. The subsequent speakers deepened this mood by accusations that were more and more farreaching and attacked state cultural policy as well. Moreover, as in the May "reports" meeting described previously, the "contributions" of the opposition in the sphere of culture were brought up and extremist leaders were praised. For example, Kazimierz B., a well-known writer, even found it necessary to give J. Kuron the title of "real patriot," although he did not concern himself with substantiating this. Another dutiful orator, Jacek B., presented illegal anti-socialist publications and, showing the most recent issue of ZAPIS to those assembled, announced that it is the only "free" literary forum. Then he repeated the appeal for working together with the editorial staff that he apparently directed. The temperature rose still higher when Andrzej D. decided to threaten his party colleagues, warning of bad times for them.



Anka K. played a special role in the spectacle. With her wonderful acting ability, she spoke at length on her experiences as a KSS-KOR member. The other speakers, such as Stefan K., Krzysztof W., Jerzy F., Jan Jozef L. and others tried not to upstage her in expressiveness. There is no doubt that this entire eloquent process was to create the psychosis that the opposition was the dominant force in the hall, which was to impress both moderates and adversaries. A sort of polish was lent to the meeting by a pair of young men, near unknowns, who were dressed in "Solidarity" tee-shirts.

Rather than calling this a meeting, let us call it an enlarged, vividly colored reprint of the May meeting. When the time came for the discussion, the selection process used rejected undesirables. Jerzy Putrament, nota bene the official vice-chairman of the main board, could not speak in the din and did right to withdraw from taking the floor. Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the Mazowsze regional board, on the other hand, was greeted with wild applause. His address was something totally new in the entire history of the Polish Writers' Union. Attempting to provide guidelines on the selection of delegates to the congress, he advised that the assembled writers choose "solid and unwavering" delegates and announced that a Solidarity library was being created. He said, /"The first book will be the Bible, and the next will be 100 volumes from the NOWA publishers, and finally there will be your books, which we will check and verify."/

This statement unequivocally pointed out the path to be taken in the future by writers, in the opinion of rightist political radicals. It likewise specified clearly that in place of the pluralism and partnership existing in the ZLP and in literature, there would be a definite, intolerant ideological and political dictate that would discriminate against anyone who did not submit to it. This is how the anti-socialist extreme saw the world of culture.

The impertinent speech of the militant extremist had the further effect (also desired) of causing more than one delegate to leave the meeting before delegates were elected and of leading others to throw their ballots into the ballot box as a matter of form. The make-up of the elected delegates could make the opposition happy (they had really knocked themselves out), but not in every way. Its candidates were carried; the list of those to vote for disseminated beforehand had its part in this, as it did in the Polish Journalists' Association [SDP]. The fact that Zdzislaw Najder appeared on the list was not the only curious detail. In not even one case did the opposition candidates receive full support and the fact that more than one-fourth of the voters was opposed to the prime opposition candidates is a telling point.

One way or another, this situation predetermined the results of the coming general ZLP congress.

[16-17 Apr 83 p 5]

[Text] The general congress of the Polish Writers' Union opened on the scheduled date of 28 December 1980, although according to Wladyslaw B., an activist from the opposition camp, this date was plotted craftily to limit the presence of "independent" delegates. It was obvious that they turned out in full

in the Warsaw auditorium, ensuring in advance (since they were in the majority) the intended atmosphere of the deliberations, the nature of the speeches, the contents of the proposals and, finally, the desired make-up of the new union authorities, in order to make the writers' union an agency of political activities conducted against the state. We say this because the secret ring-leaders had none but this intent when they conceived the entire operation. In the case of the ZLP, they had some cause for dissatisfaction, since the process of subordinating it to the political Right clearly was delayed by comparison with other artistic associations. Meanwhile, the ZLP certainly played the most important role by virtue of its prestige within society. The complaints about the late December date also emanated from this, since it was best not to wait but to march on the fortress after the successful maneuver in the Warsaw branch. But this respectable whim faded, let us say, for reasons of a technical nature; the appearances of democracy had to be preserved, although the gentlemen from the PPN and KSS-KOR did not make a big cult of this.

#### What Had to Be Heard Was Heard

Thus, it was predictable that the overriding tone of congress speeches was in no way the question of literary development; however, this direction suggested itself naturally during discussion. Nevertheless the comments made on this subject were thrust into the background by one-sided and sometimes aggressive political statements. Let us note that this occurred at a time when the essence of the activities of the anti-socialist extreme that dominated the Solidarity leadership was already perfectly clear. According to Kuron's "colliding trains" theory, which is not a home-grown idea but was imported free of charge, the systematic destruction of Polish statehood has begun, and the authorities have made a valiant effort to resist it, for example, before long the ministerial cabinet had to be changed. The national situation became more and more dramatic due to the mass offensive of the Solidarity leadership, but in the meeting hall of the highest authorities of the writers' organization that, according to its statute, is /"rooted in the principles of the system of the Polish People's Republic"/ this took the form of recognizing provocative activity. It made one doubt completely in the political culture (I shall not say political illiteracy) of more than one orator.

Besides the encomiums delivered in honor of KSS-KOR, called by its panegyrist-allies a force acting "for the good of the country," a vigorous demand was made to protect KSS members against /"aggressive attacks in the press,"/ in which the ZLP was to have taken part. This did not look very serious, however, since it was the party and the state that were being attacked brutally by the adversary, who went unpunished. Moreover, press publications that showed the real face of some of the extremist leaders were both rare and guarded due to...governmental interference. It was a question of not irritating the extremists and of not making the situation more tense. But it should also be noted that the congress speeches mentioned gave the impression of having been drawing directly from the arsenal of oppositionist propagandists that used well-assimilated tricks often effectively that were based on the familiar "catch the thief" idea.

One of the speakers, Maria J., a university lecturer and pretender to the name of literary scholar, even proposed that the /"continuity of the propaganda methods of the slanderous repudiation of so-called anti-socialist elements be brought to light,"/ purposely turning the problem upside down or, if you will, evading the issue. Next this same individual said that some literary subjects are restricted to people specially appointed (by the party) and gave the example of the subject of war. Here she neglected the minor detail that not long ago she published a lengthy paper on the picture of war in modern Polish literature, in which she plainly insulted a number of authors who have written outstanding works on our war of liberation. She did not fail to use this opportunity to call Zbigniew Zaluski a representative of the arrogant and overbearing military. This is how the "learned" delegate interpreted the facts.

While it may seem that bringing up all of these effusions here has no real significance, it is worthwhile to look at a particular paragraph from the address of Andrzej B., who said: /"We are forced to live without dignity, without rights, without freedom and in want. What is worse is that this is not the life of citizens, but the existence of serfs."/ It is no coincidence that the speaker was one of the writers that did have enough and that he continually reasserted his identity through published books and newspaper articles. It would have been worth knowing him from a material standpoint, and worth knowing the special privileges he enjoyed during the period known as the Stalinist period. He was a personality seated high above the literary "rabble." No doubt this suited his ambitions, despite the truth that from time to time he happened to get bad grades. Having learned some time ago that taking a competitive attitude to the people's state would increase his opportunities for making profit, he began to demonstrate this idea. Nor was he an exception in this regard.

From an ethical standpoint, such behavior really could engender many reservations; however, as in other cases, no one forced this author to do anything. He always made the choice himself, even when he refused to accept a state prize. He made the decision of his own free will; this same free will led him toward the opposition, or perhaps someone forced him into it. What is important is that regardless of circumstances, this writer had at his disposal far better editorial possibilities than the vast majority of his writer-colleagues, not necessarily because his works were of greater artistic value, but because he received a lot of favorable publicity. In view of the facts, this entire /"serf's existence without rights and freedoms, and moreover in want"/ was sheer mockery of those in attendance. Participants in the deliberations listening to these conscious indoctrination measures heard exactly what they were supposed to hear. We cannot rule out the notion that most of them heard precisely what they wanted to hear, losing in their euphoria the ability to recognize hypocrisy, if they did not already rule it out beforehand. Meanwhile, the author of the speech also profited by his indirect expiation: he received full absolution.

## Grandiose Statements, Trivial Reality

Generally speaking, no mystification was spared. For example, Andrzej Sz., one of the indefatigable organizers in the auditorium, took the floor on the subject of the situation in the literary community and said that the manners shown in the ZLP /"...have sometimes been abominable, the polemical methods have been lamentable and there has been more and more lying."/ Then he divulged the sense of these words: /"When someone twists and lies, this may attest to his demoralization, but it may also attest to shame, weakness and internal conflicts."/ It seemed to some observers that at that moment the speaker was making an attempt at self-criticism, since in some ways it was difficult to consider him a moralist qualified to teach.

Characteristically, the oppositionist speakers charged the authorities and their party colleagues again and again with manipulating the writers' community. This accusation was prepared for the sole purpose of diverting attention from their own manipulative gestures. This was also part of the ironclad propaganda repertoire of KSS-KOR. These attempts were especially clear in the address of Wladyslaw B., who appeared together with Wiktor W. on behalf of the so-called mother commission (which proposed candidates for the union authorities), making this suggestion to the assembled voters: /"I would like my colleagues to take into consideration a person's prestige and not only friendship or community or ideological ties. One must teach what pluralism means. If he cannot teach this, he does not have the right to demand pluralism. Often we have not been present in various union bodies and in public and literary life, not because we did not wish to be present, but because we could not be present. Together we are addressing all people of good will: be present, desire to work together with us, as you deem this necessary for yourselves, for our Union, for our joint business."/

Words, words... They were spoken from the platform at the very moment that the pluralistic model of the ZLP was locking horns, and the "teachers of pluralism" elected from the ballot concocted through lobbying were to demonstrate this conclusively. This only way that the statement quoted previously related to pluralism was in the speaker's use of the plural number. This was not a rhetorical turn, but merely a presentation of the allegedly open position of the opposition group seizing authority in advance of the electoral campaign. The representative's closing appeal for a mother-commission can be interpreted in no other way.

It was revealed during the course of deliberations that the entire declaration was full of empty words. The delegates passed a 10-point resolution that had a special point recognizing the combining of PZPR functions with ZLP functions as "harmful." Specifically, it asked for the POP [Basic Party Organization] secretary in the Warsaw branch to be eliminated from taking part in the work of the main board presidium. Evidently this was not enough, since it was elaborated further in another part of this resolution. Let us recall this point in its entirety: /"The congress abides by the principle of the separation of functions within the superior Union authorities, or within the Branch, from leadership positions in the authorities of political organizations and the cultural administration and it advises the Main Board to make us of this principle in the practice of setting up ZLP authorities."/



Interestingly, the promoter of this point was the previously-mentioned Andrzej B., who protested so vigorously against life "without rights, without freedom," but is now restricting the ordinary member's rights of union colleagues who are party and allied-party officials at even the lowest level, or who have been employed as library directors or the heads of book publishers, also being people of "good will," and thus fulfilling the pluralistic requirements of Wladyslaw B.

The advice to the Main Board to use the principle of discriminating among the members of political organizations in /"setting up ZLP authorities"/ was very interesting. Perhaps unawares, it aptly characterized the concept of electoral democracy as understood by oppositionist activists.

This is how the reality looked, i.e., the practical implementation of the pompous suggestion of Wladyslaw B. on the question of the cooperation of /"all people of good will"/ for the purpose of our /"joint business."/ As a side note it should be mentioned that at a later meeting of the Krakow ZLP branch, someone condescended to advise that the party organizations withdraw from the ZLP, which was becoming the precursor of what would take the place of the activities of the Solidarity extremist group in plants. At the general meeting in Warsaw it became clear that the separation of union functions from functions in political organizations did not apply, e.g., to KSS-KOR. This was probably because it was considered a charitable confraternity.

The resolution in question concerning /"strengthening ZLP self-government"/ included other demands interesting beyond words. It demanded, for example, that the state allocate the main board the /"indispensable funding for operating its agencies, for social and scholarship activity and the like, while guaranteeing full self-government in its decisions on these matters."/ Next came the symptomatic fact: /"These decisions will not need the approval of the Ministry of Culture and Art, nor will they be checked for their effectiveness during the fiscal year."/

Thus, according to this stiff demand, the state was to play the role of a less-than cashier with regard to the ZLP leadership, if only because the requester would determine the amount of funding. The questioning of demands and the control of outlays did not come into play. In the next point, in the identical form, the total freedom of the main board was demanded in the conducting of the union's foreign activity, including establishing funded trips and setting up trips, including private trips, and the like. Foreign-exchange funds likewise were to flow from the state treasury. Those making the recommendations of these issues again were movers in the work of "renewing" the union--Andrzej B., Andrzej Sz. and Pawel H. They did it for the sake of the "joint business," only it was the business of a limited group.

The final, 10th point of the resolution added considerably to its interest. It stated that the /"ZLP has the right to express its opinions in print freely and publicly, particularly when the opinions of this community differ from others."/ We can only guess what this really meant, but it was clearly a potential conflict with state law.

The Warsaw congress ultimately passed a number of resolutions of greater and lesser significance and of internal and external importance. Primarily, it resolved to change the statute, as a result of which the chairmen of local branches were prevented from participating in the work of the main board, despite the fact that some of them were people /"of good will,"/ prepared to act on behalf of /"joint business."/ It was more important, however, to restrict effectively the number of potential adversaries of the new authorities. The motion of Zdzislaw Najder, actively involved both within the hall and in the lobbies, repaired the weakened link with the non-Warsaw literary community: that one of the deputy chairmen should handle local organizations.

[23-24 Apr 83 p 5]

[Text] The description of the course of the Polish Writers' Union general congress in December 1980 given here, although necessarily summarized, gives a good idea of its obvious political direction, which was totally in accordance with the plans of the anti-socialist opposition. Thus, completely non-literary factors determined the situation in the literary association. It is no surprise then that the organizers of the undertaking lacked interest in the development of the writer's craft, since their primary interest was the immediate one of making the union yet another important plane in the activities aimed at overthrowing the system (and not the writer's craft, supposedly the basic reason for the congress).

Although this was the truth, there is some question as to whether the assembled delegates realized it. It is a hard question to answer. Certainly, there were those in the auditorium that, despite the electoral sifting, were aware of the machinations and the dangers they presented for the union. Some of them even tried to express this, if disavowedly, but these warning signals had no effect, for they could not, given the obvious direction of the gathering, most of which was dominated by oppositionist organizers.

A characteristic example was the speech of Lech B., greeted with applause because he had taken part in the activities of the Gdansk strike committee in August 1980 (incidentally, he exhibited much common sense then and later). However, when the speaker expressed the idea that the times demand much self-denial and effort, and that we have to work more and better, and approach society with this unpopular demand, those assembled reacted to his very important appeal with such indifference that it disappeared totally and obviously was not reflected in any congress declaration, which of course is not the issue here.

Thus, whoever attempted to counter the tendency imposed by the leaders of the gathering, who attended it with their plans having been mapped out in advance, was doomed to fail. The perfection of some retorts was surprising. Andrzej W. experienced this when he was repudiated on the platform by Witold W. who, depending on the circumstances, acted either in the role of a PZPR member or as a spokesman for the opposition, at the same time putting this latter role first. Incidentally, chairman of the deliberations Artur M. had his own share in this incident, manifesting his unwillingness to be objective in his indispensable position.

Thus, although many delegates did not express clearcut political opinions, they were certainly not involved in literature, and even if they were, it was in a demagogic way; the various kinds of pressure were having their effect. As has been pointed out, most of the delegates hailed from the Warsaw branch. One of these, Aleksander M., himself a member of the opposition, exhibited earlier a very original kind of censorship of this very influential group. After the famous November election of delegates to the congress, which was discussed previously, this writer wrote in the weekly KULTURA: /"Poles are not vindictive. How unvindictive they are was just confirmed in the election of delegates to the general ZLP congress. Those people that were chosen delegates are people worthy of the famous line: "the new is returning." These are people that symbolize all the perversions of the 1950's."/

This time, Aleksander M. was being honest. Truly, there were many people in the auditorium that once were even the /"instruments of terror"/ described exaggeratedly by Artur Sandauer. In any event, they were among the active participants in the so-called period of the cult of personality. At that time, holding positions of exposure in cultural life by virtue of assignment from above, they tried to fall into line strictly according to the directives of higher-ups and were found to have caused desolation when the inquisition was conducted. And now they reappear, smitten by the "renewal" bug. "The new" has returned. If it is said sometimes that these people underwent a "significant" evolution after 1956, it is merely another mistaken notion. The truth is that they are the same, in no way changed; only those that send and patronize them have changed. Like their predecessors of former years, these new ones also used them, demanding the right behavior in exchange for profits and splendors; they were to act appropriately within the political realm above all inside the literary community. The scene for this was to be the Polish Writers' Union and its December general meeting. Unfortunately, their pose of "the wronged" aroused sympathy on the one hand and diverted attention from past sins on the other. It drew in other writers that were honest but inexperienced and disoriented amid the existing social chaos. To dot the "i," it must be pointed out that these and the other politicians held their own base of people in disrespect, according to the thesis of the PPN mafia that recognized the superiority of the "chosen ones" over the "rabble." Now, having gain the majority in the community and having seized the positions they were after, they expected to rule over a new variety of the general muzzling they loved so well, that would preserve these positions.

#### Let the Facts Speak for Themselves

In addition to the previously-mentioned resolutions, the congress passed a number of "recommendations" for the new main board under the influence of those mentioned previously. Among other things, this board was ordered to publish the congress speeches. Unfortunately, this was not done, depriving our society of interesting, even striking reading material that would have shown in several places why the impasse in the ZLP exists at present.

It is more important, however, to call to mind another "order" that reads as follows: /"The 21st Congress of ZLP DElegates, replying to the NSZZ [Independent, Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity demands expressed by

its delegates at the general meeting of the ZLP Warsaw branch and at the beginning of this congress--enjoins the main board to conduct talks with the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] in order to set up close cooperation."/>

Essentially what happened is that Seweryn Jaworski, a self-proclaimed Solidarity leader from the Mazowsze region, spoke on behalf of Solidarity at the congress, and at the November meeting, Z. Bujak entertained with his unprecedented oratory. Jaworski was not a union official of the standing merited by the superior ZLP authorities. Like Bujak, he did not represent the KKP and thus had no authorization to make any demands on its behalf. The congress organizers, however, did not bother with such minor details. It was not a question of formality, but of drawing the ZLP more rapidly into the orbit of activities directed by the Solidarity extremists and its patrons.

It is characteristic of the text of this "order" that it explains how the cooperation of the ZLP leadership with the Solidarity leadership was initiated. This is significant because at this year's February meeting of party writers in Warsaw, this issue was treated all wrong. The writer Tadeusz Drewnowski, who took a negative view of the critical remarks on the subject of the role of the main board's cooperation with the Solidarity leadership that ultimately resulted in a formal agreement between the two sides, felt that these remarks were unfair. He even complained that it is still being maintained today in the press that the board initiated the agreement with Solidarity.

The previously quoted congress document proves that the newly elected main board had to have initiated the agreement, since it was this (and only this) task that was proposed by people that knew what they were doing. Drewnowski ought to have been well aware of this, since he took part in the congress and then was even elected chairman of the main board and participated in its many projects.

Initiating cooperation with Solidarity as a real trade union would have even been very desirable, had this been accompanied by identical initiatives with regard to other union and non-union organizations that upheld the socialist renewal; it would have even been praiseworthy. However, it was decided to select only one ZLP contracting party, i.e., the Solidarity KKP. Undoubtedly, this emanated from the basic political tonality of the congress that also was so effective in limiting the party's role in the ZLP.

With regard to the actions of the main board following the congress, it should be pointed out above all that without consideration for the circumstances, especially the obvious transformation of Solidarity by its decisionmakers into a mass anti-state political group, cooperation with these elements increased consistently. We may presume that deputy chairman Drewnowski also had some share in this, especially since he has never been known to oppose such narrow-minded board actions.



## The Issue of the Most Dangerous Ones

As has been noted, the writers' congress appointed new union authorities in increased numbers. A representative of the statutory commission explained this as an increase in the number of union members. In addition to the chairman plus 4 deputy chairmen, the main board was made up of 28 persons, for a combined total of 33. Sixteen of these made up the presidium. Six alternate board members were also elected. However, more important than numbers is the definition of the character of this leadership body that was to carry the ZLP into a new era. It must be said that not all voters had well-formed opinions on this. And so, if we discount the content of the congress statements that could have been somewhat emotionally charged, we find upon closer analysis that most board members, and particularly the presidium, were linked in this way or some other way with the work of KSS-KOR. Obviously, these ties transcended the ordinary affections and had a practical aspect. While the mother-commission proposed 48 electoral candidates, a survey of this collective proposal yielded this same conclusion. Thus, the commission did not really give voters any opportunity to change the general voting results, which were set up in advance.

While this may engender various reflections, one cannot question the legality of these elections. From the front, everything took place according to election rules. Seen from the rear, no doubt it would have ruffled the peace of mind of most of the union rank-and-file, but they lacked this opportunity. It was reserved from the very beginning for the initiated, new authorities, i.e., primarily those elected delegates to the congress from the Warsaw ZLP branch.

Some were inclined to underestimate the marked impact of KSS-KOR on the new union authorities, maintaining that only one of the members of this counter-revolutionary plot was among those elected, and only as an alternate board member. This was Jan Jozef L., who, incidentally, was not bound by the congress proposal on the separation of functions in the individual unions from leadership positions in political organizations, although he belonged directly to the KSS leadership and moreover was the chairman of a Solidarity commission. This was justified readily: although the KSS operated openly, it was an illegal organization, while Solidarity was a trade union and citizen L. was merely an alternate member.

Attempts to question the impact of KSS-KOR upon various kinds of milieus emanated from the mystification that lay at the foundations of its birth. In 1979, a list of the members of this organization was published; after a time a few members were added to the list. However, it never presented the real picture. Of the published names, only some, such as Kuron, Michnik, Lipski, Litynski and Blumsztajn took part in actual KOR activity, and then KSS activity. Most of them were out in front, so as to make it difficult to guess who stood behind them. Those mentioned above entered the nucleus of the group together with others that were camouflaged, their names kept secret, although they were quite active in various communities, including the literary community. Some of them were part of the PPN para-masonic confraternity, translating the ideological assumptions of their conspiratorial

"brothers" into the language of political practice, of which Najder is a living example. Let us look at yet another example. In August 1980, Andrzej K. went on a mission to the striking dockworkers in Szczecin. To be sure, the mission did not succeed, since the dockworkers sent the visitor away empty-handed when he offered them advice. However, like the advisers in Gdansk, he was performing a specific task on behalf of the oppositionist extreme with KSS at its head, under the PPN as ideological patron. Was it coincidental that this citizen K. was on the ballot of the ZLP congress and was elected a member of the main board presidium and chairman of a commission of special importance, for it determined the union membership? Use your imagination. With regard to those like him let us say that they were either also secret KSS members or they belonged to it based on the principle of active participation in its various offshoots, for example, the "flying university," discussion clubs, the editorial staffs of illegal periodicals (at least ZAPIS and PULS), the NOWA publishers, the DiP [Experience and the Future] seminar and the like.

It should not be forgotten that in accordance with a motion of the statutory commission, the congress held a separate election of the main board chairman. The well-known writer Jan Jozef Szczepanski was elected. Immediately following the election campaign, the new chairman took the floor to say that in matters of basic importance to their profession, writers always manage to arrive at an understanding, that the causes of conflicts and mistrust generally do not arise within the literary community, but /"...emanate and always have emanated from the outside, from people that try to play games with this community, and even to play games with belle-lettres for the purposes of an ill-conceived cultural policy. They emanate from people that usurp the role of managers of culture."/

This could even be true.

The speaker continued: /"Today the most dangerous of these have departed. Thus, we may expect a return to a healthy atmosphere in our life."/

It is hard to say whom Jan J. Szczepanski had in mind at that moment. The most dangerous ones did depart long ago, but in their place new managerial monsters have appeared, created diligently throughout an entire quarter-century, that are also ready to enthrall Polish culture.

[21-22 May 83 pp 5,7]

[Text] The words of the new chairman of the new main board of the Polish Writers' Union, Jan J. Szczepanski, on the subject of the people that usurp the role of managers of culture and play games with the literary community and with literature in general for their own purposes began to be confirmed right after the Warsaw general meeting. At the same time, it became clear that these goals are of a political nature; they are at odds with the systemic principles of our state and thus are totally incompatible with the basic theses of the ZLP statute.

The statute said clearly that the ZLP is rooted in the principles of the PRL system and goes on to say that the objective of its efforts is the full development of Polish literature. However, the new union authorities began to act differently, namely, according to a specific line determined by the leadership center of the oppositionist extreme. In other words, this center assumed the previously noted managerial functions with regard to the literary community and literature in general. It is with a sense of melancholy and with embarrassment that we must point out that instead of being efforts toward the full development of Polish literature, the priority became those actions of the main board that bolstered the so-called fundamentalists, grouped within open and secret oppositionist fraternities. In this way, the ZLP became still another forum for the political anti-socialist campaigns of the opposition, important because of its conspicuousness due to the high social standing of writers. This was apparently the point. Perhaps it was the only point, since the new managers, in some contrast to all former ones, were not at all interested in literary development.

The political tendency of the main board soon became apparent, in January 198 [text illegible], concerning the issue of work-free Saturdays, demanded quite categorically, under the threat of a strike, by the Solidarity leadership. It was obvious that the purpose of this demand was to break the national economy and destroy the state, in the final analysis bringing great harm to society. Nevertheless, the ZLP presidium recognized as expedient the 23 January issuance of a special announcement expressing/"concern over social conflicts,"/ and then accusing the government of /"an arbitrary way of acting,"/ when in reality it was backed up against the wall by the skillfully attacking extremist group. Incidentally, the 18-member presidium came out with this statement not representing only the 1,500 ZLP members, but the entire society, which is noteworthy in that the identical subject appeared generally in all public statements of counterrevolutionary spokesmen.

This statement prefaced other similar statements that were to issue from the extraterritorial main board headquarters. Here we should mention a certain publication that soon appeared under its stamp as a "guidebook." Besides containing understandably very sketchy information on the general congress, the brochure of over 100 pages included many tendentious materials, among which was the text of a talk given by Czeslaw Milosz in Stockholm when he was awarded the Nobel prize. Without entering into the circumstances that determined this case, although they obviously made a political statement, we should point out that in his speech, the prize-winning poet perpetrated an unprecedented, libelous attack on the Soviet Union, quoted in full in the "guidebook." So, Milosz could finally say whatever he liked, led by obvious motives, but the least capricious utterance in Poland was considered to indicate a lack of responsibility as well as dismal tactlessness, out of the memory of the 600,000 Soviet soldiers that fell during the liberation of Polish lands under Hitler's occupation. It was easy to guess what purpose this link in the chain of anti-Soviet attacks that were organized at that time was to serve, but it was hard to imagine that the ZLP main board, or at least its presidium, suddenly had lost control over the editing of its bulletin. What would have made such control all the more desirable is that writers on the editorial staff that undoubtedly found themselves ordaining its fate were almost all from the "independent" or KOR ZAPIS.

## A New Atmosphere

Sometimes it seemed that the union statute was worth only the paper on which it was printed; as is well-known, a similar phenomenon occurred in Solidarity. This applied likewise to intra-union affairs, at least in the case of one Jacek Berezin. Long ago he was a beginning poet, and he stayed that way. Ten years ago he published a small volume of poetry, but that was not enough to keep him in the ZLP. Nevertheless, this Berezin tried to obtain other qualifications, namely becoming a member of KSS-KOR. Moreover, he published an anti-Polish book out of the underground Paris diversionary center, made up of bad verses, that were moreover inimical to socialism. And this is what qualified him to be recognized by the new ZLP main board, although not totally, it is true. Berezin was granted membership under an extraordinary procedure, contrary to the provisions of the statute, and thus violating it, in more than one point.

Thus, within 2 months after the conclusion of the general congress in Warsaw, it could be stated conclusively that a healthy atmosphere was returning to the ZLP by chairman Szczepanski, who desired this so ardently in his inaugural address.

The next piece of "evidence" of a return to health was the Warsaw branch reports-elections meeting held in February 198 [text illegible]. The voices of discretion reverberating through it, e.g., Wacław S.'s appeal to printers to have a more significant share in book production, were drowned out, while the hired applauders showed their support of such political speeches as the ostentatious address of Ryszard M., a literary critic and once a zealous propagator of so-called socialist realism, now an adherent of the "renewal" with an obvious bent, modeled after his close colleagues. And when Jerzy S. announced the draft of a resolution calling for social calm and for opposing the growth of anarchy in life, they would not even let a vote be taken on the draft. The opposition said that the text was unsuitable, since it also contained demands addressed to the Solidarity leadership and the government was to blame for everything, as the oppositionist agents would have us judge events. Such speakers as Krzysztof W., Halina S. and Irena L., well-known for their activism on behalf of the opposition, and Jan Józef Lipski, a member of the KSS leadership, found another opportunity to give vent to their political views, i.e., to propagate ideas that were the exact opposite of those contained in the ZLP statute. In the end the resolution that was issued suited these spokesmen. To be sure, Lipski's reward for forcing this resolution through was to be put on the new Warsaw branch board, although he already belonged to the main board. Like the previous election, this one contradicted the provision of the general congress that stipulated that persons fulfilling leadership functions in political organizations should not belong to the union authorities. But in the new "healthy" atmosphere, the members of KSS-KOR within the ZLP were not bound by these and other rules. Chairman of the auditing commission Zdzisław Najder supervised this; perhaps he is still doing so, only from Munich. No one dismissed him from this position.



The communique of the new branch board lent a sort of pungency to this scenario. The report said that the meeting had taken place "in a completely different atmosphere than that reigning on similar occasions years ago." Once again, the appearance of the "atmosphere." Obviously, it was "completely different" for it was the atmosphere of a "return to health."

The atmosphere was completely different because it was that of a "return to health." The scene caused by the announcement of Jerzy S.'s resolution was described in the communique as a "lively discussion." Perhaps the repercussions following it were the reason that next to the report there was an ad about receiving medical help from a laryngologist. The new branch chairman Jozef Hen signed the communique.

#### In the Same Direction

What was happening in the ZLP was a process consisting of its transformation into a KSS-KOR outpost as a managerial center for activities of the anti-socialist opposition. The same thing was happening with other artistic associations.

Of the various campaigns conducted by ZLP adherents of the anti-state opposition in 1981 that had the purpose of supporting oppositionist actions, one that is certainly worth mentioning is the pressure exerted in conjunction with the so-called NSZZ Solidarity National Education Commission on the Ministry of Education and Upbringing to change school reading materials to readings politically favorable to the opposition. The campaign succeeded. The works of such eminent writers as Nalkowska, Dabrowska, Borowski, Mach, Czeszko and Neverly were eliminated from reading requirements, while the books of those that more or less favored the opposition were put in. Thus, non-literary, and even non-esthetic criteria were applied here. This is how concern over the development of literature on the one hand and over the proper education of youth on the other was manifested in practice. The fact that on this occasion the number of books written by the new chairman of the ZLP main board increased from one to three may be ascribed to the inertia of the "previous period," when these privileges were linked with being in a high position.

Without making allusions to any particular individual, we should point out that the authors of school reading materials receive very high honorariums because of their great efforts. However, the most intriguing thing is that this set of materials that was forced through continues until today. The Ministry of Education and Upbringing undoubtedly has not felt it necessary to return to good literature, and so the books designated for reading in the schools written by the previously noted specialists are printed in large quantities, and their authors, although inclined negatively toward the socialist state, continue to express their unchanged positive inclination toward its treasury. This is a clear sign to writers that if they are to make anything on their books, they must wear the dissident cloak.

Of the other initiatives engendered by the new ZLP leadership, we should also mention the organization of the "lecturer's bank." As Kazimierz Molek

said at the February meeting of party writers, its role consists of intensively penetrating the working-class community within the framework of author contacts. This /"alliance of workers and writers"/ was organized by the "commission for cooperation with the union movement" of the ZLP main board. It had this characteristic complaint, that it cooperated only with Solidarity elements. K. Molek listed a number of participants in this "bank": T. Burek, A. Drawicz, J. Glowinski, K. Orlos, M. Nowakowski and S. Kisielewski. He said: /"Their political identity card was their close association with KOR, ZAPIS and NOWA, as well as frequently their years of cooperation with anti-socialist centers."/

It is characteristic that no one from the ZLP main board or the presidium, which bodies ceaselessly pronounced themselves in favor of the most far-reaching democracy, attempted to propose that these and other ventures be discussed by ZLP members. It would have been fitting to submit the question of the school readings to such a detailed discussion. However, the practice of the ZLP leadership had less and less in common with democracy, and the ZLP member-writers were shocked by the decisions of their authorities. This was illustrated excellently when the agreement on ZLP cooperation with the Solidarity KK was finalized.

[28-29 May 83 p 5]

[Text] While such an important event in the life of the country as the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress seemed to escape the attention of the new ZLP authorities, they were full of interest about the Solidarity congress. Chairman Jan J. Szczepanski spoke at it on behalf of ZLP members, although he must have realized that many of them not only did not support him, but even opposed him. Incidentally, the congress delegates reacted to the presence of chairman Szczepanski on the platform so negatively that it was no small matter for the presidium to get things under control. However, the contents of the speech succeeded in convincing the unruly that they were dealing with a representative of a friendly body; objectively speaking, it would be difficult to consider this body representative of the entire ZLP membership.

Then it came to the concluding of an agreement on cooperation between the ZLP leadership and the Solidarity leadership. Although a great deal may be said about this strange agreement, concerning which the general ZLP membership was not consulted, as though it did not exist. However, let us restrict our discussion to the basic issues. First, it was concluded at a time when all signs pointed most clearly toward the confrontational course being traveled by the extremist group in control of Solidarity. Already at that time, at the beginning of the second part of the Gdansk congress, a structure was conceived to be used in the assumption of power by the planned "self-governing Republic." Moreover, the famous "message to the working people of the countries of Eastern Europe" was proclaimed with a bang, as a provocative attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist states. In such a situation, concluding an agreement with the reactionary Solidarity leadership signified that the ZLP leadership group was supporting the politicians' plans. Of course, the literary community did not share this view.

Foremost among the detailed provisions of the agreement were the ZLP's obligations /"to mediate in obtaining the cooperation of writers to create NSZZ Solidarity newspapers and publications."/ They also offered /"similar help in the creation of NSZZ Solidarity radio and television programs."/ Yet another statement dotted the "i": /"Both parties declare their desire to participate in issues related to the entire make-up of state cultural policy (publishers, sociocultural newspapers, the theater, film, radio and television)."/

Thus, the board of the literary association, without asking any of its members for their approval, went very far in acceding to a plan for the seizure of Polish culture by counterrevolutionary groups, reducing the ZLP to the role of a subservient tool as recorded in a document. One objective was to gain control of radio and television, where special armed bands of "Region Mazowsze" were to create a foreground for the operation. Meanwhile, the extremists received the cooperation of the publishing committee of the ZLP main board and embarked upon organizing a new "Independent Publishing Office" that was to be directed by KSS-KOR member Mirosław Chojecki (currently in Paris). "Region Mazowsze" subsidized them and the ZLP endorsed them. As it is easy to surmise, the title plan of this publishing office included anti-socialist political literature, above all; this also meant the printing of books for domestic purposes of the Paris diversionary center, fraudulently called a "literary institute."

### Screeching Reality

After the Solidarity congress, the domestic situation began to become more and more severe as a result of the activities of extremist oppositionist groups, solidly established in the KK of the "social movement," for one no longer spoke of Solidarity as a trade union. However, the ZLP main board continued to be directed unchangeably by the tendency described here. Thus, it is no wonder that given the proposals submitted by the PZPR and government for creating a front of national understanding, they were indifferent. Nor were they even budged by the memorable conventicle of Solidarity leaders in Radom, at which there was open talk of confrontation and all sorts of "clattery bargaining"; all that was left was for them to give the date of the ultimate encounter with Polish socialism. This silence in view of an unprecedented attack against the state constitutional authorities was more telling than words could have been, especially in the light of the ZLP statute.

Today we know that at that time, there occurred an actual break in the contacts of Solidarity's KK with the state authorities over the making of an agreement. The leaders of the "social movement" agreed to an understanding, but only according to the terms that they dictated, which was tantamount to being a lead-in to the total capitulation of the authorities and, consequently, to the elimination of the socialist forces from the game. Faithful to the priority of political issues over literary issues, on 4 December, the chairman of the ZLP main board summoned up the courage to express his opinion on the negative stance of the KK to a national understanding. This time having recourse to a formula used in diplomacy, he said that the ZLP recognizes an understanding to be necessary, but it should be "authentic." If this occurred, according

to the chairman, the position of Solidarity would change. We may conclude from these words that the chairman of the ZLP knew the attitudes of the real leaders of the "social movement," i.e., the PPN and KSS-KOR activists. In fact, he alone also knew now how to assist them. That he did this in a veiled manner altered nothing.

Reality lost its camouflage and began screeching at the so-called Congress of Polish Culture that was called "in community" and began in Warsaw at the end of the first 10 days of December. The writer Jozef Lenart characterized it briefly but accurately as a plane for the confrontational actions of the organizers of the meeting, among whom the oppositionist activists from the ZLP (who knew current Polish culture well) held sway. Essentially, this "congress," whose stars were political emigrants brought in from Western countries, had the task of the seizure of our cultural life by oppositionist agents, that could lead directly to its total downfall. Andrzej Wajda, e.g., questioned the need for the existence of the Ministry of Culture and Art. The so-called consultative committee for artistic associations, opposed as a body to socialism and ready to act, certainly would assume its prerogatives.

The members of the ZLP authorities played the major role among speakers at the congress. One of these, a member of the ZLP presidium, Andrzej Kijowski, even decided to negate the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, i.e., the existing European power structure and borders that arose as a result of the victory over Hitler. Like it or not, this was only grist for the mill of West German revisionism. However, Kijowski's address reiterated the statements of such KSS-KOR agitators as Michnik, Kuron and Lipski, who more than once questioned Poland's regaining of Western lands. Andrzej Szczypiorski, chairman of the ZLP main auditing commission, who also spoke, was wrong when he said that the voices of those from the congress platform were as if "honed down" while the tone was "ardent" in the lobbies. Thus, he demanded that the "congress" too fervently take up the question of national understanding and, considering himself a representative of the people, he disclosed that the authorities are not worthy of partnership in consultative dialogue. It was also Szczypiorski that demanded the "socialization" of the mass media, which was fully consonant with the agreement concluded between the ZLP leadership and the Solidarity KK and with the planned attack of Zbigniew Bujak storm troopers on the radio and television centers.

There is no point in relating more statements of this kind from the "congress." However, it is worthwhile to quote the statement made by Janusz Przymanowski, who assessed this monstrous gathering in this way: /"Since Stalinist times I have not seen such a marvelously orchestrated and brutally manipulative show as the congress of culture. Everything was planned out in advance and orchestrated: who is to speak, what he is to say, who does not reply to him, who is allowed to reply, as if from the floor."/ However, this mechanism is not all that surprising, since among those that engineered it at the "congress" were people that obtained practice in propelling it during the Stalinist era. Later they tried to raise their qualifications in this regard, in order to return to their former practices in all fields of culture without exception.



## In One Right Direction

Those taking part in the "congress" received an invitation to participate in a street demonstration that was to take place on 17 December in Warsaw according to a scenario prepared by the previously named film director. It was planned according to the rules of sociological engineering, as an incitement toward a general outbreak that would back the state authorities up against the wall, forcing them to agree to the "authentic" terms of the counterrevolutionary extremists. As the debates over incapacitating Polish culture went on as if nothing had happened, interrupted from time to time by the voices of reason, in Gdansk the meeting of the NSZZ Solidarity KK was opening that gave the signal for a general strike. The day of 13 December halted effectively this course of events and overturned the danger that threatened not only Poland.

Nevertheless, the awareness of the obvious dangers still did not reach the ZLP leadership. As Kazimierz Kozniewski wrote, they did not make a single gesture to reach an understanding with the state authorities and to restore the operation of the ZLP. The only way to understand this was as the direct continuation of former activity, i.e., the support of the militant opposition. To be sure, in August 1982 chairman Szczepanski sent a letter to ZLP members in which he wrote that the main board preserved /"total independence always and regardless of the sympathies of its members, was a political agent for no one."/ However, the truth refutes this statement, as expressed for example in the critical statement of the chairman of the Szczecin ZLP branch, Ireneusz G. Kaminski.

The facts are irrefutable. They were also brought up at a meeting of the Warsaw organization of party-member writers, held in February 1982. This provided a start for constructive work on extricating the literary community from the sort of stagnation in which it found itself. It should be pointed out as a side note that the course of this meeting was significant in that there were speeches made by several apologists for the union authorities. One of these (his name is not important) got on his high horse to such a degree that he called his adversaries "riff-raff." It is not known why, since it is impossible to find any reason for such superiority in his works.

In September 1982, chairman Szczepanski, acting on behalf of the ZLP main board, sent a letter to government members in charge of cultural issues. He asked that /"the plans of the authorities be revealed concerning our organization, and above all that they not succumb to the demonizing myths regarding the alleged enmity of the main board toward the state and the system."/

The position of the authorities did not need to be "revealed," since it was already well known: the ZLP should abide by its statute. Nor was anyone succumbing to any myths, since where myths are concerned, it was exclusively the political opposition that was busy fabricating them. Besides, by that time it was already difficult to act on behalf of the entire main board, since it was also divided.

But how could one assess the sincerity of the author of the quoted letter, when 1 month later he published in print a review (and more) in praise of no one else but Zdzislaw Najder, who for months already had been the director of the "Polish" section of Radio Free Europe and who was known to have been in the service of foreign secret services for years? But the ZLP presidium did not make even the slightest mention of this act of betrayal by a union member; on the contrary, the chairman chose to speak of it in no other way but positively. And this statement was interpreted just as it deserved.

The conference of writers-PZPR members that took place this past February was a basic attempt to lead the ZLP out of the impasse. These writers, supported by a significant part of the literary community that never yielded in its entirety to political pressure, recognize the need for the existence and the work of the ZLP as an element able to play a positive role in the development of Polish literature, which is the heart of the matter. That is why they presented a succinct program for revitalizing the situation that affected the union community very severely, especially in the social sphere. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the principles for the successful implementation of long-range plans. These principles include the equal rights of all ZLP members through the observation of the tolerance and democracy that were severely strained in recent years. In all of its work, the ZLP should abide by the binding statute, and unjust congress resolutions that discriminate against part of the community should be repealed. The union must also respect in full the legal and political order of our state, breaking with the practice of supporting the anti-state opposition. The party writers also decided that those ZLP members that cooperated with diversionary-propaganda centers inimical to Poland could not remain in the union.

As is known, talks with the members of the leadership of the still suspended ZLP continue, but they are not yielding the positive results that the literary community awaits. This is also being caused by their inflexibility on such completely obvious questions as their procrastination that has a quite discernible undercurrent. While we could talk about the lack of responsibility of people that are supposed to be mature, let us forego all judgments.

Thus, it is still not known when the situation in such an important field of the national culture as literature will normalize.

Here we have presented a brief, but very informative history of the Polish Writers' Union during the past few years.

8536  
CSO: 2600/1016

MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH PROGRAM

AU221427 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17-19 Jun 83 p 4

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, minister-member of the Council of Ministers for youth affairs, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Youth Is Not an Enclave"-- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Naleszkiewicz] Minister, on 14 June it was a year since the Council of Ministers passed the "program for improving young people's start in life and their working conditions." Although we do not usually mark the anniversary of the adoption of government bills, we are nevertheless interested in your appraisal of the significance of this program to the young because of this document's exceptional nature since it defines the government's policy toward the entire younger generation of Poles for the first time in our history and because it is a policy which combines the tasks of many ministries and institutions to form a harmonized system of activities.

[Ornat] To start with I would like to explain or maybe rather stress that before the Council of Ministers adopted the program, they saw the special "Report on the Conditions for Young People's Start in Life and Work," which was commissioned by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and drawn up by a team of experts with the help of scientific institutes, state bodies, and youth organizations. The conclusions drawn from this report were used as the grounds for mapping out the tasks contained in the program. Tackling youth affairs and determining the problems which the government must unravel, as well as saying how this must be done cannot be taken as a gesture from the authorities to the younger part of our society or an attempt to adulate the young. However, it is an objective necessity and arises from an expression of concern for the further development of the nation and the state.

[Naleszkiewicz] Both the report which you mentioned and the many discussions in our columns or even the simple reality of life, all show that the economic and material situation young people find themselves in is a difficult one. Did the implementation of the program also have an important effect on young people's economic and material situation?

[Ornat] Of course young people as an integral part of the community are affected by the crisis. However, they are affected in a particular, if not a particularly arduous way. We are aware of the fact that young people, next to some old-age and disability pensioners constitute the weakest part of the community. On the other hand, old people have usually managed to accumulate some sort of material fortune despite the difficulties they have experienced, possessions which those who are just beginning adult life still do not have. However, we cannot deal with or appraise the 12-month implementation of the program, which was after all implemented under very difficult and complex conditions, as the golden rule for tackling the difficulties and privations facing young people. The government program on youth affairs does not "function" at odds with reality but is the result of the general sociopolitical situation in Poland. This is also why the material, living conditions of the young can only change in relation to the positive changes arising in the whole economy. Youth is not an enclave and there must not be any privileges for being young. Positive changes are, on the one hand, now obvious, and even though they are accompanied by an almost timid indecision they are already becoming felt. However, on the other hand, the party and the government promised to create conditions which would give free rein to young people's initiative in the activities they perform for their own sake and also for the good of others. The program we have been discussing today is in fact an example of this. It will, after all, not be implemented by itself but only as far as young people take joint responsibility for its implementation and as long as they are treated in a partner-like way. Saying today that we should get "as much as we are entitled to" is simply outdated. The idea of a "giving state" has become obsolete and will never again be current. Today, the truth may be brutal, but it is simple if we say "I will be better off if I make a bigger effort." The awareness that this is being done for the common good is becoming more and more established. State aid to the younger part of the community just making a start in life and aid taken from common property which has been worked for together are two different matters in view of the above.

[Naleszkiewicz] From what you have said, it appears that we are dealing with a typical generation conflict, one which is being waged between older people who already have some sort of goods and property behind them and the young who are starting from scratch...

[Ornat] It is true that a lot is being said about this at the moment. Older people, on the one hand, say that they had to fight for everything themselves in conditions which were a hundred times more difficult than these, and that it was really they who actually started from scratch. Young people, on the other hand, want to have everything at once, saying that they meet nothing but obstacles which are making it impossible for them to acquire the things which older people already have as quickly as they would like. I suggest you view this issue in something of a different light. Conflicts between generations are a normal occurrence. However, they take different forms during various periods of social development. Our present "conflict" hinges, above all, on the fact that the philosophy behind the phrase "we are entitled to" irrespective of whether we do



anything to earn this or not, has become rooted in the social consciousness, particularly young people's, and has divested the younger generation of a particularly important attribute; it has, namely, weakened the natural inborn desire of youth to fight for a better future and one which is nevertheless viewed in a wider context and not only in the subjective sense.

[Naleszkiewicz] Yes, but the older generation always makes the decision and the fight does not always promise to bring success...

[Ornat] Those who are absent have no rights at all. I sometimes hear my young friends say they "do not see the point in living." Then I tell them to do something positive and it will pass. The presence of young people and their active participation in the affairs of youth organizations, workers' self-management bodies, trade unions, and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] could be a tonic for frustration, apathy, or doubt. Young people must realize that if they do not fight on today, then they will want to rely on someone else later. We cannot allow this to happen. The aim of the program, once it has been implemented, is to make it possible for young people to take a large part in public and economic affairs. We are removing both the structural obstacles as well as those dormant in the consciousness of the older generation and, from what I understand you are getting at, we must change the mentality of those who make the decisions together. Gone are the times when we were told what to do.

[Naleszkiewicz] Minister, I see that you are putting the onus on the degree to which young Poles are conscious of what is going on, and that you are pinning your hopes on the government program for youth affairs as though this were the only way to success. How then would you assess young people's attitudes and their present sociopolitical awareness?

[Ornat] No, it would be wrong to think this. The government's program is a collection of tasks which are performed, one after the other, by the relevant state institutions, and provides precisely the conditions we need to perform our activities in. It is true that these conditions are, on the whole, created by people who are over 30, but here we must include an essential qualification, for they are brought into effect after consultation with the young and their youth organizations. The success of the program depends, therefore, to a greater degree on us, too, the older generation. The reason why I am putting such an emphasis on young people's awareness is to point out that the program would remain just a hypothesis and a burden to the authorities if young people did not contribute to it actively or exploit the practical potential the program gives them. The most important thing is, therefore, that they should understand our intentions and show an active interest in what can be done, and this is the way it should be understood.

Returning to your question on the degree to which the young are conscious of what is going on, I would like to say that there have of course been several changes for the better if we compare the present situation to that of a year ago. These changes are apparent in various shapes and forms and are dictated by the youth community which has inspired them. Positive phenomena

probably arise most spontaneously among teams of workers, and it is precisely the young who were the first to support the government's anti-inflation and savings programs at many enterprises because they quickly realized that work which is better organized and more productive can ensure an improvement in their standard of living. Young people's participation in trade unions is also steadily increasing as it is in workers' self-management bodies, within work force enterprises and PRON.

The PRON organizations at the Lenin Steelworks was, for example, created on the initiative of young people. This is one of many such examples. We have, in addition, noticed a certain vitality among young people and more energetic activities within youth unions. The general improvement in social moods has undoubtedly contributed to this, as did the belief that the line of "accord and reform" which the authorities took was the best and the easiest line to implement. However, I would be misleading your readers if I presented too rosy a picture.

[Naleszkiewicz] Exactly, as far as I can see, this positive "movement" has not yet made its mark among young people at school and moods there are not heartening.

[Ornat] This is true. The situation among college and student circles is not an ideal one. However, I would like you to remember that a number of things have contributed to this and it is for this reason that a return to normality must take relatively longer. The stormy incidents of the past years were undoubtedly the reason why the attitudes of many pupils and students have been influenced by current events. The daily thoughtless compliance with the demagogy of the Polish underground, false "advisers," and the antisocialist propaganda broadcast by Western radio stations, which have been raining hatred toward everything that is Polish or socialist, have done much harm to young minds. It resulted in an irrational "dissent" which was cleverly supported and ruthlessly maintained by centers hostile to Poland. It was made worse by the weak educational system used in schools and colleges and resulted in painful effects like the frequently shed tears of our parents, effects we are all familiar with. However, the situation is slowly changing and the atmosphere is also improving. This is heartening even if the normalization process must take a little longer, though we are now better prepared for this.

[Naleszkiewicz] Nevertheless, the fact that the authorities are mistrusted is very noticeable at secondary schools...

[Ornat] But this mistrust is, at the same time, an irrational one. Nowadays, it is difficult to find slogans which can inspire crowds of people like the famous "we will help" slogan of 1971. I can understand what the young people who were present in the Gdansk Shipyards in 1971 felt when various empty promises were made to them. It is obvious that they were disappointed, but what could have disappointed people as young as high school students in the third and fourth classes [18 and 19 year olds]? It is precisely their dissatisfaction that is irrational.

CSO: 2600/1065

SERBIAN ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON KOSOVO EMIGRATION

AU111933 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 11 Jul 83

["Why Communists Move out of Kosovo"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)--In assessing the report on the implementation of the conclusions of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, the delegates of the Committee for the Self-Managing System of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia were very critical today. In their opinion, the conclusions of the assembly adopted in April last year have not been implemented, and this is supported by data on 10,000 Serbs and Montenegrins emigrating by 11 March 1981 [date as published].

Although a certain number of emigrants have returned or have the intention of returning, their number is so small, the delegates say, that it acts as adverse propaganda on those preparing to emigrate. It would be better not to mention it. Serbs and Montenegrins are often offered large sums for their property and even those who had no intention of selling their property are now doing so. The behavior of Serb and Montenegrin communists is reproachable, the delegates believe. It is mostly the communists, and experts to boot, who are emigrating.

The delegates also resent that the problem of emigration from Kosovo continues to be treated territorially, as if it were an affair and worry for Kosovo alone, although it is known what the aims are of creating an ethnically pure Kosovo and a Great Albania whose projected borders are much wider than the territory of the province of Kosovo. The delegates also take it amiss that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the three communes in the south of Serbia--Medvedja, Bujanovac, and Presevo--is not considered in this context. Move by move, an ethnically pure territory is being created and this may be dangerous for all the country. Therefore, the ideological struggle must be much deeper, and the cause of emigration should not be reduced to economic reasons, as even some distinguished politicians say.

Statements are being made in official places in Kosovo that emigration is decreasing. It will be even less, for soon there will be nobody left to move out. The delegates ask why some collectives still demand the knowledge of both Albanian and Serbo-Croatian when offering employment, and for posts ranging from messenger boy to director. According to assembly conclusions, all self-

managing general acts in work organizations should be reexamined, but this has not yet been done. It is impermissible that the schools do not teach the languages of the community, which is to say Albanian and Serbo-Croatian, but that this teaching is optional starting with the 10th year of age, so that the division according to nationalities begins at an early age.

Many other questions were asked in such a critical spirit, and it was assessed that the situation should be called unsatisfactory despite the tremendous efforts being made in Kosovo to change it to the better. The political action in Kosovo should be assisted by Serb and Montenegrin communists who live there, instead of their abandoning the battle which they should wage all together against the irredentists.

CSO: 2800/361



## KOSOVO LC COMMITTEE SESSION

LD101846 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 10 Jul 83

[Commentary by Djordje Jevic]

[Text] Pristina, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--The session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee 2 days ago which discussed the implementation of the political platform, has fulfilled expectations by the significance of the subject discussed and by its assessments, attitudes and views and proposals. This was one of the most significant political gatherings in the province in the past few months. The general assessment of this gathering is that the political security situation in the province has substantially changed compared with 2 years ago and, of course, compared with the situation before the open and brutal onslaught by Albanian nationalists and irredentists on the foundations of our community and our revolution. There is the general conviction that the intensive and broad action by all progressive forces led by the LC has also contributed to this.

Though these assessments are not all that new because they could be heard recently at the highest forums of the province, of the Republic [of Serbia] and of the federation, they were confirmed by every single speaker in the debate and they thus assume a kind of political weight and significance.

The counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalism and irredentism have been virtually completely pushed back from the public scene. They have been dealt a powerful blow which has confused their exponents. It is not difficult to observe that the shaken intranational trust is being restored, that there is growing faith in the LC strength, in self-management and the organs of power. Changes in the work of educational, cultural, and other institutions, as well as efforts aimed at eliminating everything that used to cause dilemmas and hesitation and that had clouded awareness of the national aspect as a socialist category, are also obvious. In a nutshell, the situation has normalized and is considerably less weighed down by dangers from overt enemy actions.

In this connection, however, one should not conclude--and this would also be dangerous--that "everything has been settled," that the counterrevolutionary forces have been completely defeated and that there will no longer be any trouble with them. This all the more since the consequences of enemy activity and indoctrination are grave and since all signs point to irredentism reorganizing itself, trying to win over new forces, and to having gone deep underground and moved over to more subtle activity.

The knowledge that the process of ideological differentiation, in particular in educational institutions, is not proceeding as it should, that there is indecisiveness in severely settling accounts with opportunists and nationalists, and the knowledge that not all generators of nationalistic indoctrination have been stopped, certainly exert an influence on such a psychosis.

It would also be political blindness not to note the growth of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism which sows defeatism, doubt and disillusionment among honest people, which advocates a strong-arm policy, the limitation of the constitutional position of the province, and which--and this is most dangerous--is trying to equate Albanian nationalism and irredentism and the Albanian nationality as a whole by spreading the thesis that "they are all the same."

All this, along with economic difficulties, makes the political mosaic of Kosovo considerably more complex than can be described in the words of political jargon. In this mosaic, the emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins and others represents certainly the most tragic and most painful of Kosovo's realities, a reality which has grave consequences. One need not be a good mathematician to calculate how long it would take, should the departure of Serbs and Montenegrins continue at the present pace, for the irredentist concept about an ethnically pure Kosovo to be achieved.

True enough, there was practically no participant in the session of the provincial committee who did not speak of these problems. Several of them stressed the need for the return to Kosovo of all who wished to do so. But, parallel with this desire, the problem, which is becoming particularly acute, is what to do to make the people come back, how to make it possible for them to find jobs quickly and create living conditions. One of the delegates, Srecko Trifunovic, asked, for instance, that the province, the republic and the federation should compile a program of immigration, that additional resources be set aside for this as well as for Kosovo's speedier development. He also proposed that the initiative about floating a general Yugoslav loan for the return to and settlement in Kosovo should be discussed.

This proposal by Trifunovic prompted reaction from several members of the committee, in particular from Veli Deva and Mustafa Nazmi, who asked what the proposal meant, in fact, when the floating of a national loan to alleviate the great unemployment in the province was being deliberated.

Several questions arise for the observers of Kosovo's circumstances following this minor but not insignificant polemic. Does it mean, for instance, that there are still different views about the so greatly insisted-on return and settlement of all who want to come to Kosovo? Is the arrival of experts and working people resulting from the pooling of labor and resources and of joint investment the same as immigration, or is it, as some see it, the "third colonization" of Kosovo? Is this, in fact, a question of the same goal but different terms?

These questions, in view of the fact that they introduce doubts, ambiguities, misunderstandings and a little gall too, demand a precise answer. This answer should be arrived at through unity of attitudes, through communist sincerity, without reservations about what has been done and about what should be put on the agenda and, of course, without fear and labelling.

## KURTESI ADDRESSES KOSOVO LC COMMITTEE SESSION

LD092137 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 9 Jul 83

[Text] Pristina, 9 Jul (TANJUG)--Winding up the debate which lasted several hours at yesterday's session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, which discussed the implementation of the political platform for the settlement of the situation in this province, Ilijaz Kurtesi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, said at the beginning that the plenum has given a realistic assessment of the progress achieved to date in implementing tasks arising from this document.

Our claim that in this period there has been a significant progress in the stabilization of sociopolitical trends is based primarily on the confidence which the working people feel for the LCY and its strength and ability to solve important and complex issues facing society and to mobilize working people on the basis of the fundamental course of further development of self-management, brotherhood and unity and of preserving the heritage of the revolution.

In the past period the Kosovo LC has undergone important changes. There has been a maturing of awareness in a great number of members concerning the role, tasks and responsibility for the situation in one's own environment. The danger of alien and antisocialist tendencies, which in the past used to be seen as an obligation of organs and leaderships, is now present in the consciousness of communists. The work content of the LC organizations is becoming increasingly closer to interests and life of their environments, and the methods of work is being adapted to conditions of the struggle for new relations. Admission to the LC and a relatively faster process of getting rid of those who have not been able to follow our ideological line, also testify to the maturing process which has been happening to the Kosovo LC, Ilijaz Kurtesi stressed, adding that the stands contained in the platform and the activity and support by the LCY and Serbian LC as well as by the republican and Vojvodina League of Communists, have been a great contribution to and support for the Kosovo LC.

In this connection Kurtesi stressed that important, responsible and complex tasks aimed at further stabilization of the situation in the province lie ahead. This is even more so since the enemy, both internal and external, takes advantage of our difficulties and wants to destroy our system.

Albanian nationalism and irredentism are trying to stir up hatred among the Albanian population for the Serbian, Montenegrin and other nations, blaming them for many misfortunes of the Albanian people in the past and present, encouraging separatist tendencies, demanding ethnically pure Kosovo and insisting on the slogan "Kosovo-republic" and on destroying Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations and nationalities. Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists also try to spread intolerance and hatred toward the Albanians, trying to prove how it is impossible to live together in Kosovo and blaming the entire Albanian population for hostile acts carried out by nationalists and irredentists. In this activity of all nationalisms the most faithful cadres are attacked as traitors of their people, Serbophiles and the like, while Serbian and Montenegrin cadres are accused of being spineless and merely trying to get a good position and so forth. The intention of these actions is very plain: to lessen their reputation and create a split and disunity among cadres, Ilijaz Kurtesi stressed.

Speaking about the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, Kurtesi stressed that despite a gradual settling down of the situation this continues to be one of the most delicate issues. We have to oppose strongly all attempts to minimize or exaggerate this problem, he warned, since this leads to demobilization [as received]. This problem should always be seen realistically. Our attitude is that even one case of leaving Kosovo because of pressure should be a sufficient cause for alarm, particularly in the environment in question, but also at all other levels. However, we cannot agree with those who present cases which happened 10 years ago as being caused by the present pressure only to make the emigration appear to be on as large scale as possible. This is an attempt to deny the entire practice and work of the League of Communists.

Referring to the hostile propaganda from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee stressed:

It is really surprising that the top leadership of that country is placing propaganda against us in the front line of its commitments and tasks. An attempt is being made with lies and fabrications and by massaging our reports to create a sinister and negative picture of the situation and of the relations in our country and in Kosovo. Enver Hoxha, Ramiz Alia and others, allegedly concerned about the position of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, are causing great damage to the position and reputation of all progressive Albanians, especially in their country, and to the reputation of the Albanian nation. Their attitude helps especially the reactionary forces, Albanian nationalists and irredentists. Interference in the internal affairs of our country is virtually a daily occurrence. This is why we must vigorously resist this propaganda, convinced that it is in the interest of the two countries that good-neighborly relations be developed on the basis of equality, mutual interests and independence. The interests of the peoples of our two countries and the achievements of our revolution oblige us to make efforts to overcome our bad relations. We do not deny the interest of the Albanian people in the development, prosperity and life of the section of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia, within the framework of proclaimed and adopted principles, just as this section of the Albanian people and other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia are interested in the situation in Albania. However, we believe that it is for the people of Albania to decide how to settle relations in their country, Kurtesi said.



LCY BODY VIEWS 'RELIGIOUSNESS' AMONG COMMUNISTS

AU041936 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 83 p 3

[V. V. report]

[Summary] Belgrade, 28 Jun--"The LCY Program and Statute clearly define the attitude of communists toward the church and religion. In the present situation in our country, which is characterized activities of the enemy and some sections of the clergy, the pressure of the religious communities through various manifestations has become especially conspicuous. This is a signal for the LC to analyze in this sense the situation in all communities especially when LCY members are involved in any way."

This was stated at today's session of the LCY Statutory Commission which was presided over by Budimir Vukasinovic and which considered the appeal of Marija Car, responsible administrator for all-people's defense and social self-protection in the Duga Resa cotton mill, against her expulsion from the LC because her husband, who is not an LC member, had their child baptized in church with her knowledge. The Statutory Commission of the LC of Croatia has confirmed her expulsion. At its session today, the LCY Statutory Commission postponed the decision on Marija Car's appeal until its next session in order to review the case together with the Statutory Commission of the LC of Croatia and investigate the actions of the basic organization which originally expelled Marija Car and another six members of which also had their children baptized in church.

"It was reported at the session that the Catholic Church has intensified its activities in the Duga Resa community and it was noted, as matter of special interest, that these activities are also carried out among the families of LC members. It was stated that similar activities have also been noticed in Slovenia and in other republics and provinces where the hostile phenomena do not manifest themselves concretely and in clear forms but are masked by the so-called religious ceremonies. It was therefore pointed out that it is necessary to more extensively examine and determine to what extent the phenomenon of religiousness features in the entire LC activity or, more precisely, to what extent 'double' morals are held by some communists who publicly accept the LCY Statute and Program but privately participate in religious ceremonies. The question of ideological orientation is closely connected with this issue because an LCY member may not be religious. If he is religious, then his place is in the Socialist Alliance and not in the party."

The commission decided that a meeting would be held in the fall with presidents of the republican and provincial statutory commissions to analyze the situation in relation to these issues. The results of the meeting will provide the basis for a wider discussion on this topic in the LCY.

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TANJUG REPORTS ON SLOVENIA SECURITY CONFERENCE

LD071647 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Excerpts] Ljubljana; 7 Jul (TANJUG)--The aggravated conditions governing economic activity and thus many social and political problems are creating a social climate in which the possibilities for negative phenomena to flare up are present, Tomaz Ertl, republican secretary for internal affairs of the Slovenia SR, said at today's conference devoted to the security situation in Slovenia.

Relatively favorable security conditions were ensured last year and this year in the Slovenia SR. This was due to the fact that, notwithstanding great difficulties, production was maintained, with the occasional hitch, and supplies of energy and basic food articles kept flowing. Moreover, through effective activities joint and personal consumption was held the agreed limits and exports to the convertible area were increased.

"However," Ertl stressed, "we must not overlook the fact that the social security of a growing number of people is increasingly jeopardized and that as a result dissatisfaction is on the increase, particular over the subjective weaknesses which endanger the results of their endeavors."

Republican secretary for Internal Affairs Tomaz Ertl also spoke about anti-socialist and antiself-management phenomena and voiced the opinion that "heightening social problems and stimulating a lack of confidence in the social order and its ability to resolve the present difficulties is a method of hostile activity which has been well tried in the world and to which we must devote greater attention." He likewise expressed the view that "in exacerbated social and intranational relations, or with the phenomena of nationalism and chauvinism, these various forms of criticism have an essentially different ring from what they might have in stable social conditions."

Talking in detail about various criminal acts and crimes that are on the increase, Tomaz Ertl stressed that "all the examples show that the security awareness among citizens is frequently not high enough and that the system of social self-protection is still too closed up within the framework of forum discussions and organized action."

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RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGION, SOCIALISM VIEWED

AU011621 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 83 SEDAM DANA supplement  
p 15

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic in the "Religion and Society" column: "Ideological Expansion"]

[Excerpts] Writing on the position of Muslims in our country on the occasion of the arrest in Sarajevo of a pan-Islamic group, the Iranian IRNA agency, quoting the Indian paper (JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI), states that "in practice, Muslims in Yugoslavia are discriminated against by the government" and exposed to constant mistreatment, arrests, and pressures.

About the same time, the Israeli daily JERUSALEM POST presented the position of Muslims in our country in a completely different light. Among other things, the paper mentions that there are about 3,000 mosques in Yugoslavia today, that there are "absolutely no prohibitions on believers to perform religious rites." It is also stated that 600 new mosques have been built since 1975, that Islamic believers have their faculty, newspapers, several high schools, and the like. It is also mentioned that about 3,000 Islamic believers from Yugoslavia will go on hajj this year.

Of course, the world is interested not only in Muslims in our country, but also in members of other religious communities, about which we have many confirmations these days. Therefore, Yugoslavia has been spoken about (either explicitly or within the context of Eastern Europe) at different places ranging from the Vienna symposium on religious freedoms in the East to BBC radio programs, and written about in various newspapers and special reports such as the one in the "Church in Need" [printed in German] for 1982. The basic thesis of all these discussions (regardless of differences in arguments and nuances in formulating them) is that interest in religion in Eastern Europe (and therefore the number of believers) has tremendously increased and that interest (and engagement) in socialism has fallen proportionately.

As far as our country is concerned, the behavior of the Catholic Church has the following tendencies: If self-management in society comes to a greater slowdown and dogmatic forces strengthen (because of an interaction between the two), the church, partly due to its own "logic" and partly due to these



circumstances, necessarily turns into ideologizing. This of course does not mean that the church, being a counterideology, necessarily bears any historical higher idea. In our country, for instance, the church in such circumstances never had any historical program nor a social vision and therefore it, we should be objective, sided with reactionary forces. Anyhow, one does not have to be very imaginative to realize that in a really developed self-managing society (and this primarily means efficient economy with the means of production in social property) a church which intended to be a primarily ideological organization would look like a hen among peacocks and would accordingly have such influence.

However, regardless of this and the current situation, one can not accept the thesis that socialism and religion are in an ancient and irreconcilable conflict, which is the intention of the aforementioned analysts; the mentioned IRNA report even carries such a fact: "The number of the LCY members decreases each year, and to such an extent that it fell in the province of Serbia from more than 70,000 in 1980/81 to 32,000 in 1982 (!?!). This decrease shows the unpopularity of the Communist Party and the return of the people to religion, especially to Islam."

CSO: 2800/356

YUGOSLAVIA

ZAGREB COURT SENTENCES SEVEN FOR SECURITY OFFENSES

LD121522 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT  
12 Jul 83

[Summary] Zagreb, 11 Jul (TANJUG)--The district court in Zagreb today sentenced seven persons to varying terms of imprisonment for criminal acts committed against the foundations of our social system and security of the SFRY. Vladimir Jurinic, 25, was sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment; Stjepan Cipuric, 35, to 8 years; Ivan Desovic, 27, to 3 years and 2 months; Zvonimir Zuzak, 31, to 5 years; Josip Penic-Grgas, 24, to 11 months, suspended for 4 years; Josip Penic, 33, to 8 months suspended for 3 years; and Bozidar Cuk, 21, to 5 years and 6 months.

In explaining the verdict, Judge Josip Golub stressed that it was fully proved that the accused committed these serious crimes either in the area of the municipality of Jastrebarsko or in places near their places of birth or residence. Most of them admitted in the preliminary investigative procedure that they held illegal meetings. Three of them conspired to destroy important industrial installations or for the purpose of terrorism and enemy propaganda. Only Bozidar Cuk admitted in court that he planted dynamite and caused the explosion at the bottom of a transmission line pillar, that he wrote an enemy slogan on the church fence in Krasic. Josip Penic-Grgas also admitted that he illegally brought into the country one copy of the paper NOVA HRVATSKA published by the Ustasha-terrorist organization abroad.

Jurinic admitted writing enemy slogans but denied associating with two others and planning to destroy the monuments to dead fighters in Sveta Jana and Rakov Potok near Zagreb. In the investigative procedure beforehand all of them admitted committing criminal acts listed in the indictment but later denied them in court.

Until the sentences become valid, Jurinic, Cipuric, Desovic, Zuzak and Cuk are detained where they have been since January when they were arrested.

CSO: 2800/357

## BRIEFS

SKOPJE SENTENCES ALBANIAN NATIONALIST--Skopje, 7 Jun--the five-man bench of the Skopje District Court, chaired by Genko Andonovski, sentenced Cani Abdulovski, 29, from the village of Sveta Petka near Skopje, to a 9-year prison term. The court has proved that last year and in the first months of this year Cani Abdulovski, on several occasions, wrote slogans and other inscriptions of hostile contents from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in the streets of Skopje and neighboring villages (Barovo, Ciflik, Gornje Sonje, and Sveta Petka), distributed leaflets and called on the Albanian population to effect an unconstitutional change of our system. [Text] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 83 p 10 AU]

KOSOVARS SENTENCED FOR FALSE STATEMENTS--For the penal act of spreading false [words indistinct] the Pristina Communal Court sentenced (Radoslav Glagovic), pensioner from Obilic, to 4 months' imprisonment. On 19 March 1983, during a meeting of the Obilic Veterans Association, (Radoslav Glagovic) stated that in 1981 10 engineers of the Kosovo electro economy enterprise visited Enver Hoxha while he was in Paris for treatment. Because of this false, ill-intentioned, and arbitrary declaration the Pristina Communal Court sentenced him to 4 months' imprisonment. At a similar meeting on 22 December (?1982) (Dragoslav Vuketic) stated that an assembly on the occasion of the Yugoslav People's Army day organized in (?Vellaznimi) school in Obilic was boycotted by more than half of those taking part with a massive walk-out upon which the others began to sing "Comrade Tito We Pledge To You." Because of this false declaration he was sentenced to 2 months' imprisonment. [Text] [AU061030 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 83]

ALBANIAN SENTENCED--Skopje, 29 Jun--The Skopje District Court has sentenced Dalip Arifi, 47, from Kicevo, to a 5-year prison term. Arifi emigrated to the FRG 14 years ago. In Duesseldorf he became an active member of a church organization as a political emigree who "no longer wanted to live in Yugoslavia because it is a communist country." Arifi then moved from Duesseldorf to Chicago (the United States), where he very quickly came in contact with the Balli Kombetar emigree irredentist organization and actively participated in its work. He also actively participated at a congress of this organization in Detroit in 1972, the following year, he was elected a delegate to the founding congress of the Albanian enemy organization "Association of Kosovars" in Chicago. In the same year, he attended a congress of the hostile Ustasha organization in Chicago. In April 1981, the Balli Kombetar organized demonstra-

tions in Washington in connection with the counterrevolutionary developments in Kosovo. Arifi was one of the most vociferous in front of the White House shouting the slogans "Down with Yugoslavia" and "Long Live the Republic of Kosovo." [Text] [AU021503 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 83 p 5]

FAULT FOUND WITH MARXIST CENTER--The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia has discussed a report on the work of the Marxist Center of the Central Committee, which in the past year developed broad and intensive activities. It held 34 scientific gatherings and several discussions at which over 1,200 scientific and public workers took part. The work of the center was at the same time struck by a wave of negative criticism which offered no answers. The echoes of some of the discussions and the unacceptable positions in them introduced confusion in the party grassroots. Because of all this, it was concluded, the discussions must be much more thorough and better prepared. They must be supported by a wider circle of participants, especially people from associated labor and social practice. All this should lead to more productive ideological and theoretical results. [Text] [AU120825 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Jul 83]

VOJVODINA AMNESTY--Novi Sad, 5 Jul (TANJUG)--On the occasion of the day of uprising of the people of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina adopted a decision on amnesty for people serving a prison sentence. As announced, as a result of this decision 10 people will be released while 6 people have had their sentences reduced. [Text] [LD060031 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 5 Jul 83]

BULGARIAN ENVOY VISITS MACEDONIA--Stefan Staykov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the SFRY, paid a protocol visit to the SR of Macedonia yesterday. During his stay in Skopje, Ambassador Staykov was received for separate visits by Blagoja Taleski, president of the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia; Bosko Stankovski, president of the Assembly of the SR of Macedonia; Dragoljub Stavrev, president of the Executive Council of the SR of Macedonia; Tomislav Simoski, president of the Republican Committee for International Relations; and Trajko Apostolovski, president of the Skopje Community Assembly. The talks dealt with Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations and cooperation, with the participation of the SR of Macedonia in them, and with questions on which the development of relations and cooperation between the two countries depends. [Text] [AU290911 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 Jun 83 p 2]

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